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OUR NEW WAR-SHIPS.

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THE extraordinary departure which the United States has taken in naval construction since 1881, when it possessed not a single modern ship, is sufficiently remarkable to those familiar with all the steps by which it has been accomplished; and to foreigners unaccustomed to American push and energy it seems hardly comprehensible. The lack of interest in naval development in the fifteen years following the war permitted the fleet to fall into a condition of decrepitude and decay that left the United States completely out of the list of naval powers. When the popular demand for a reconstruction of the navy began to arise, shortly after this period, there seemed to be no way to meet it. Information as to progress abroad was scanty, and naval shipbuilding was apparently a lost art in this country. There had been a time, many years before, when our designers and constructors led the world. But that time had long since passed, and meanwhile naval architecture had taken such enormous strides that the expert of thirty years before was only half-equipped for the work of the period.

From this slough the navy was first extricated by the commencement, in 1883, of four steel vessels, the "Chicago," "Boston," "Atlanta," and "Dolphin." They were in every sense experimental—in their design, in the material of construction, and in the mechanics who were employed on them. It was new work, from the ground up. That they were carried to complete

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success, and that they fairly represented the progress of ship-building of the period, though not in advance of it, are facts remarkably creditable to all who had a hand in their construction.

The next ships laid down for the navy were begun in 1887, and comprised the "Newark," "Charleston," "Baltimore," "Philadelphia," "San Francisco," "Yorktown," "Concord," "Bennington," and "Petrel." At the time these ships were commenced naval architecture and engineering had advanced materially from the stage represented by the first group, and the new ships were fully up to the progress of the period.

The "Baltimore" and "Charleston" were built from plans procured abroad, and the "Philadelphia" and "San Francisco" were reproductions, more or less modified, of the "Baltimore's" design. The other vessels were designed by the bureaus of the department, and in them were introduced, wherever possible, the best features of the foreign ships.

Following these came two more ambitious vessels of between six and seven thousand tons, both armored, one called a cruiser and the other a battle-ship—the "Maine" and the "Texas." The "Maine" was begun in 1888 and the "Texas" in 1889. The plan of the latter was purchased in England. Both are creditable ships for their size, and will undoubtedly form a valuable part of our future navy.

Since the "Texas" the United States has bought no plans abroad. It has relied upon its own inventive and mechanical capacity. The number of ships begun includes five cruisers of the second class, two gunboats, and a practice vessel. In reference to these, no especial difficulty was presented to an establishment which had accomplished the results already described. Another armored ship of the "Monitor" type, the "Monterey," and a harbor-defence ram of peculiar design, are also well advanced in construction.

In addition to the above, the department has, in the last two years, undertaken the construction of vessels of an entirely novel character. They are experimental, not in the sense in which the "Chicago" and her contemporaries were experimental, because we now know what the shipbuilders and manufacturers of the country can accomplish; but they embrace in their design features so wholly individual and unusual as to represent a second departure in American naval construction.

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The vessels of which I speak are of four types: first, Cruiser No. 6; second, the armored cruiser "New York"; third, Cruiser No. 12, commonly known as the "Pirate," and her new consort, No. 13; and fourth, the three battle-ships, the "Massachusetts," "Indiana," and "Oregon."

Of Cruiser No. 6 there is not much to be said. She belongs to the recognized cruiser type, but her greater size permits an expansion in those qualities wherein the ordinary cruisers are most defective—coal endurance and sustained speed. Her coal capacity is 1,300 tons, which gives her a radius of action of 13,000 miles, a distance far beyond the average vessel of this type. The additional weight of her machinery enables her to reach not only the guaranteed speed of twenty knots, but a sustained sea speed of nineteen knots, which is certainly two knots above that ordinarily maintained by ships of her class. She has, in addition, unusual protection for her guns and a powerful battery. The main armament consists of four 8-inch and ten 5-inch guns,—fourteen in all,—while the secondary battery comprises twenty-four light pieces. She is a cruiser pure and simple; but with her sustained speed and remarkable endurance, her powerful battery, and the armor with which she is protected, she is a cruiser of no ordinary character.

Next in order comes the "New York," an armored cruiser of 8,150 tons. The radius of action of the "New York" and her speed are the same as those of No. 6. Her battery is composed of six 8-inch guns, four of which are protected by barbettes and shields of heavy armor, and twelve 4-inch guns, while her heavy protected deck and armor in the wake of the engine spaces form additional defence. She is not only constructed to destroy commerce, but to destroy commerce-destroyers, and of these there are few who would be able to meet her on equal terms.

The "Pirate" and her sister-ship, Nos. 12 and 13, are of an entirely different type. They are fully protected against light guns, and their armament, comprising one 8-inch, two 6-inch, and eight 4-inch guns, with twenty rapid-fire guns, is a match for any armament that the converted commerce-destroyers of the day can carry. Armor protection they have also of a limited character, but their two essential features are coal capacity and speed; the former gives them a radius of action of 25,000 miles, while the latter, developed by engines of over 20,000 horse-power,

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propelling three screws, is placed at a maximum of twenty-two knots and a sustained average of twenty one. They can steam around the world without touching at any point for coal, and they can overtake with ease the fastest trans-Atlantic liner of the day.

Finally we come to the battle-ships. These vessels, which were adopted by Congress, after considerable opposition, at the recommendation of the department, are vessels built for the defence of the coast of the United States. They have been often described, and it is not necessary to repeat the description here. Their speed is high for vessels of this class. Their coal endurance is amply sufficient for the purpose for which they are designed. Their defensive protection is thorough and effective, their belt and redoubt armor being eighteen inches in thickness. As for their battery, the statement made six months ago, that it is the heaviest and most effective battery carried to-day by any ship afloat or projected, has never been disputed. Four 13-inch guns, rising to a height of eighteen feet above the water, eight 8-inch guns at an elevation of twenty-five feet, and four 6-inch guns distributed in various parts of the casemate, form the armament.

These four types of vessels are not imitations. They do not represent any specific class or model existing abroad. Points of resemblance they undoubtedly have, as all ships must have; but in their essential features they are highly individual in character, and in a way not to fall behind, but to surpass, the types they may be called upon to encounter. Perhaps it may be said that no one feature of these ships is unique, but the combination of features which they represent is admitted to be unique on all hands.

Until recently foreign critics have been silent as to the progress of our navy. Beyond an occasional newspaper paragraph little has been said about it, and that little has been of the most cursory description. Very recently, however, the subject has begun to engage attention, and the publication in England, in March last, of an elaborate and carefully-prepared paper, has called forth extensive discussion and awakened considerable interest abroad. This paper is entitled "Some Recent Warship Designs for the American Navy," and was read in March last before the Institute of Naval Architects by Mr. J. H. Biles, a member of the council of the institute and a naval architect of

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experience and wide reputation, who had recently returned from a visit of inspection to this country. The essay was followed, at the time, by a long and animated discussion, in which many English naval critics took part.

In order that we may "see ourselves as others see us," it may be well to quote from Mr. Biles's paper some of his comments. It begins with a description of the first four ships of the new navy, the "Chicago," "Boston," "Atlanta," and "Dolphin," and takes in all the important constructions authorized since 1882, including the latest. Considering the state of the art of steel shipbuilding in America in 1883, it is satisfactory to hear Mr. Biles declare that, in respect to workmanship, "the American ships are quite equal to the best of the English."

As might be expected, Mr. Biles gives special attention to the four types designed since March 4, 1889, which have been referred to above. Of Cruiser No. 6, a vessel of 5,500 tons' displacement, he says:

"The nearest vessels of our navy to this are the belted cruisers, which have armament inferior by two 8-inch guns, and a speed of a knot an hour less. The 'Reine Regente,' in the Spanish navy, is of considerably less displacement, has a thicker protective deck on the flat; but, while she has four 9-inch guns against the four 8-inch guns of this vessel, they have not as good protection, and she has only six 5-inch guns against ten."

Of the "New York"—armored Cruiser No. 2—he says:

"The 'New York' is rated by the Americans as an armored cruiser. She is of a type somewhat between our first-class cruisers of the Edgar class and the 'Blake 'and 'Blenheim,' being practically of the same length and breadth as the latter."

Mr. Biles continues:

"Compared with the Edgar class, this vessel is much more powerfully armed and much better protected. Her sustained sea speed will probably be greater."

Of Cruiser No. 12, whose design, as already stated, is to be reproduced in No. 13, he says:

"No. 12 Cruiser is, however, the most important of the cruisers. She is called a 'commerce-destroyer,' and is popularly known as the 'Pirate.'"

He then gives a table in which he contrasts the speed of the "New York," No. 6, and No. 12 with the fastest British ships, the "Blake" and "Blenheim," from which he concludes that the

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American "Pirate" will be a knot and one-half faster than the fastest English ship, and adds:

"From this table it will be seen that our fastest ships will probably be slower than the American fastest ships. In the case of Cruiser No. 12, the fastest American ship, this result will have been attained by giving her a length greater than any warship built or building, by giving her a light armament, thus reducing the crew and all their accompaniments, and by simplifying the structure and arrangements generally. Speed and coal endurance are the features of this vessel which have been specially intensified, and Mr. Secretary Tracy's conception of what is required to destroy commerce seems to have been well worked out by the constructive staff. . . . The building of such a ship as No. 12, which we have nothing to cope with, certainly is an indication of what America is capable of, both in conception and construction, and I have thought it of sufficient interest to lay before this institute for consideration and discussion."

The most important vessels in the new navy, in the opinion of this accomplished English expert, are the three coast-line battleships, "Massachusetts," "Indiana," and "Oregon," having a displacement of 10,298 tons each; and he gives an instructive table in which the general characteristics of these ships are contrasted with those of the eight new battle-ships now under construction in England, each having a displacement of 14,150 tons, and the "Camperdown" and "Anson," of the English navy, with a displacement of 10,650 tons, and the "Sinope," of the Russian navy, of 10,800 tons.

The armament of the three American battleships he describes as follows:

"The armament consists of four 13-inch 35-calibre guns, mounted in two turrets formed with inclined armor 17 inches thick, the horizontal thickness being 20 inches, as shown in Fig. 23. The bases of the turrets are protected by redoubts 17 inches thick, extending from the top of the armor belt to 3½ feet above the main deck. These guns can be loaded in any position.

"In addition to these there are eight 8-inch guns mounted in four turrets as shown in Fig. 24. These turrets are formed of inclined armor 8½ inches to 6 inches thick, which is equivalent to from 10 inches to 7 inches horizontally. These turrets are placed on a deck above the level of the 13-inch guns.

"There are also four 6-inch guns, protected by 5 inches of armor, having 2-inch splinter bulkheads worked around the deck, the ammunition being served up inside these bulkheads. There are twenty-eight small rapid-firing guns and six torpedo tubes. The conning tower is 10 inches thick. The 13-inch guns are 17 feet 8 inches above the water, and 6 feet above the deck over which they fire. The 8-inch guns are 24 feet 9 inches above the water, and the 6-inch guns 14 feet 10 inches. The 8-inch guns can fire over the tops of the 13-inch, and for considerable angles across the middle line of the ship. With such a large armament, the question of the supply of ammunition is a most important one, and seems to have been very well worked out. Each gun has

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its own magazine almost directly underneath it, below the belt-deck, and therefore protected by thick armor, so that there are no ready-use magazines in comparatively unprotected positions.

"The engines are 9,000 horse-power, and a maximum speed of 16¼ knots is expected, and a sustained sea speed of 15 knots.

"The coal-bunkers will stow 1,800 tons of coal. The estimated radius of action at 10 knots with this supply of coal is 16,000 miles. The (normal) supply of coal (or the quantity of coal that could be carried on the trial trip) is 400 tons."

Mr. Biles adds:

"The armament of these vessels seems to be more powerful than that of any European battle-ship. . . . Of course, in order to attain this result, something has had to be sacrificed; or rather something is not existent in these ships which exists in the larger ones. (The English battle-ships are 14,150 tons' displacement.) The speed estimated, compared with our latest battle-ships, is probably about one and a quarter knots less. The (normal) coal supply (or quantity to be carried on speed trials) is 500 tons less."

Mr. Biles further states:

"As these vessels will probably have to act very much nearer their base than European vessels, their bottoms will probably be in better condition, so that the real speed would not be much, if any, less. For the same reason their coal supply need not be so large, and therefore it would seem that their preponderance of armament would give them an advantage in a combat near their own coast-line with any European vessel. They are distinctly superior in most respects to any European vessels of the same displacement, and for the purposes intended, of protecting the American coast-line, they seem to be quite a match for any ships afloat."

It will be seen from these extracts that Mr. Biles has little to say of the American designs except by way of commendation. It is worth while, however, to turn to the other side of the picture, if it has another side, and see how far, in the discussion which the paper raised, the new designs have been made the subject of adverse judgment. It is right that the American public should know, and, above all, that they should rightly estimate, the criticisms to which the work of their naval constructors is subjected; that, if the objections that are raised to this work are valid, they should understand it. But, on the other hand, it is equally important that they should not be misled by errors of statement into the supposition that the new navy is not all that their fancy painted. The opinion of foreign critics is only valuable as throwing a side-light upon our labors. Apart from this, it is a subject neither of congratulation nor of concern.

The principal criticism called forth by the paper read before the Institute of Naval Architects is contained in an editorial

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article in the London *Times* of April 6, which reproduces closely the general comment made by Mr. White, the chief constructor of the English Admiralty, in the discussion which followed the reading of Mr. Biles's paper.

"For some time," says this article, "they [the United States] were content to import their designs for warships from Europe. Even now there is, we believe, no American warship actually ready for sea which was not built from European designs or imitated from existing European patterns."

But it also declares that the Americans

"are now dealing independently, and, as it seems to many, rather too boldly and light-heartedly, with the problems which have long engaged ourselves. Our own extensive experience, and our frequent disappointments with the contrast between expectation and reality, between theory and practice, between calculations on paper and realized results at sea, have perhaps made us a little more cautious and distrustful at innovation than it behooves an *inventive and ingenious people like our American cousins to be.* If the greater boldness of the American designers is really based on sound judgment, and not merely on lack of experience, we need not regret it. We shall in the long run profit equally by their experience, whether it results in failure or in success."

What the *Times* characterizes as the "boldness and novelty" of the new American designs are the logical result of a decision to adapt the designs of ships of the American navy to the necessities of our situation. What is a good ship for England or France is not necessarily a good ship for the United States. Nor would it be in any sense a praiseworthy feature of American designs that they were only a slavish imitation of European models. England has colonies and dependencies in every quarter of the globe, and her commerce must be protected in every sea. Her battle-ships are designed to cross oceans and to maintain an offensive warfare at distant points. American battle-ships were not designed to cross oceans, but are for the protection of our own shores and coastwise cities, as their name implies.

The criticism made of the battle-ships has been confined to two points: first, their apparent lack of coal endurance, and, second, the arrangement of their batteries. As to the first point, the American ships are designed to carry only 400 tons of coal at the load-line, whereas English designers give 900 tons to ships of similar type having a displacement of 10,000 tons and upwards. Great stress is laid upon this supposed lack of coal endurance in our battle-ships, notwithstanding the fact that they have a bunker capacity for 1,800 tons. The coal endurance of a ship is deter-

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mined by the capacity of its bunkers. As coal endurance is estimated, our battle-ships have a possible radius of action of 12,000 miles—much greater than any battle-ship of Europe. The quantity of coal to be carried will be regulated by the immediate service to which the ship is to be put. With 600 tons on board, the top of the armored belt will be two feet six inches above the water-line—exactly the height of the belt of most European battle-ships of 10,000 tons' displacement.

Now, in adjusting the "antagonistic elements" of weight, of battery, of armor, coal endurance, and speed, all constructors accord to each the weight best calculated to accomplish the purpose for which the ship is intended, keeping in mind that only so much weight can be put on board a ship of given displacement, and that its offensive and defensive power is the result of the adjustment of these more or less antagonistic features. The department in its recent designs has given especial prominence to what in each type was deemed the most important feature, mindful that it must sacrifice those that are of less consequence.

The first and chief characteristic of a battle-ship should be its ability to destroy its adversary, and this depends on the strength of its armament. The second should be its ability to prevent being destroyed, and this depends on the strength of the armor with which its hull and battery are protected. The third feature should be its speed, and the fourth its coal endurance. These last are necessarily subordinate features. Acting near the base of supplies, it would be useless to load the bunkers of our ships with 900 tons of coal, the usual allowance to English battle-ships of a similar size. We think it better to take 500 tons from coal and put it into armor and armament. A further saving of weight lies in our moderate freeboard. Steering a middle course between the low hulls of the original monitors and the towering proportions which have been attained by an extravagant reaction from that system, resembling the great four-story structures of three centuries ago, we have placed our 13-inch guns eighteen feet above the water-line, to enable our ships to fight bows on in almost any sea, while above them are the 8-inch guns, twenty-five feet from the water, which could be fought in a hurricane. Economizing weights in these two respects has enabled our constructors to give to our battle-ships a battery more powerful and more efficient than that of any ship yet designed or afloat.

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That we have succeeded in this respect is not denied by any of our critics, while, at the same time, we have thickness and strength of armor, giving the ships defensive power substantially as great as that of the "Royal Sovereign" class, the latest product of English designs in battle-ships.

The second criticism on the battle-ships relates to the disposition of the guns. "English designers," said Mr. White, "laid most stress upon the risk of interference." "It was specially arranged that one part of the armament should not be able to obstruct the use of another." Mr. White expresses doubt whether this rule has not been disregarded in the arrangement of the batteries of the battle-ships, and *The Times* says:

> "The enormously powerful and varied armament is so disposed that, according to Mr. White, the very serious danger would be incurred of the fire of some of the heavy guns interfering with that of others."

Upon this question of interference the English critics are singularly in error. The salutary rule referred to by Mr. White has not been overlooked by the American constructors. The batteries of our battle-ships, powerful and varied as they are, are so arranged that the fire from no one of the large guns will interfere in the slightest degree with that of the others. Nor will the vicinity of the turrets of the 13-inch guns, as *The Times* appears to think, prevent the efficient use of the 8-inch guns on the upper deck.

The maximum fire with all the guns is permitted on the broadside.

All guns that are mounted to train directly fore and aft, from either bow or stern, have this fore-and-aft fire; and in addition to this capacity, the 8-inch guns on what may be called the off-side may be trained five degrees across the bow. Removable tops or breaks are placed to prevent a greater train than this; but should the commander desire to direct the off-side 8-inch guns to fourteen degrees on the fighting side for an emergency, this could be done, and no danger would result if the precaution were taken, for this given round of emergency, to remove the observers from the conning tower.

The mounts are so arranged that the depression ceases at five degrees in the 8-inch guns, which absolutely prevents any interference of fire at any train with the 13-inch turrets. The subject of interference of fire was thoroughly considered, and all its bear-

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ings understood and appreciated, in laying down the battery plans of the vessel.

To resume: there is an arc of but eight degrees for 8-inch guns on the off-side, that is, the non-fighting side, of the ship, which, without precautions, it would be undesirable to utilize. The whole of the remainder of the train is at the disposition of the commander.

The arrangement is such that one of these ships will be able to deliver a bow or stern fire of two 13-inch guns and four 8-inch guns, throwing 3,200 pounds of steel at every volley, while, as is stated by a Philadelphia correspondent in the same number of *The Times*, "in a single broadside volley there will be over two and one-half tons of metal, and in the first ten minutes of an engagement one ship will hurl 28,400 pounds of steel."

To account for the success of the American designers in placing upon a ship of 10,300 tons a heavier battery than English designers had placed on a ship of 14,150 tons, and substantially as heavy armor, it has been surmised that the American constructors had used lighter scantling, producing lighter and weaker hulls. But a reference to the detail drawings will show that this surmise is entirely without foundation, and that the American hulls, instead of being lighter, are actually heavier than those of the English battle-ships. To illustrate: the most important of scantlings, namely, the thick outside plating below the outside armor, which includes all the under-water part of the ship, is of the same thickness on the American vessels as on the "Royal Sovereign," a vessel of nearly 4,000 tons' greater displacement, and is from one and one-half to two pounds heavier per square foot than on English battle-ships of 10,600 tons' displacement.

Another surmise offered in the discussion before the institute to explain the American solution of the problem of weights was that we had probably reduced the quantity of ammunition below the European allowance. This is also an error, although, in view of the field upon which these ships are to operate, it might have been safe to reduce somewhat the quantity of ammunition. As a matter of fact, the number of rounds for the large guns is about the same as that allowed on battle-ships abroad.

Turning from battle-ships to cruisers, we find that criticism proceeds from the same narrow stand-point. It fails to consider that Americans, in building cruisers, as in building battle-ships,

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have followed the universal rule that the ship must be adapted to the situation and the service in which she is to be used. For our own purposes, therefore, we have improved upon the designs which, to quote the London *Times*, we have hitherto "been content to import from Europe."

Cruisers can be regarded as part of the fighting force only in a restricted sense. They are the eyes of the fleet, and are intended to watch the enemy. They serve somewhat the purpose of cavalry in a land force, not only as scouts, but for rapid movements at different points to worry and harass the hostile fleet, and to make sharp and rapid raids chiefly upon his commerce. If the United States should be engaged in war, these cruisers, in order to reach the most important lines of commerce, would have to steam some three thousand miles from our own shores. For this purpose cruisers built upon European plans would be of little or no value. The "Baltimore" and the "Philadelphia," the designs of which, as *The Times* says, were "imported from Europe," have an estimated coal endurance of 9,000 miles, but in actual practice not more than 7,000 miles. Sent out in time of war to attack one of the lines of an enemy's commerce, these cruisers would no sooner reach their destination than they would be compelled to start on their homeward voyage. Their endurance is not sufficient for them to remain even a week in their field of operations. It is for this reason that in our recent designs which have not been imported the purpose has been to increase very largely this element of coal endurance.

Cruiser No. 6, whose contract speed is twenty knots for four hours in the open sea, carries 400 tons of coal, at the designed water-line, but has a bunker capacity of 1,300 tons, which gives her an estimated endurance at ten knots, with full coal supply, of 13,000 miles. The "New York," having the same speed, carries 750 tons of coal at the designed water-line, and has a bunker capacity of 1,500 tons, giving her an estimated endurance, under similar conditions, of 13,500 miles. Finally, protected Cruiser No. 12, whose contract speed is twenty-one knots for four hours in the open sea, and which carries 750 tons of coal at the designed water-line, and has a total bunker capacity of 2,000 tons of coal, has an estimated endurance of 25,000 miles. Possibly the radii of action claimed for these vessels will not be fully realized in actual service. In estimating coal endurance, it is assumed that the coal is perfect, that

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the sea is smooth, and the bottom clean. But as these conditions are rarely attained on board a ship in commission, the radius of operation of a vessel must necessarily contain a speculative element.

Basing our estimates, as we do, upon quantities of coal consumed per indicated horse-power per hour, similar to those adopted in calculating the endurance of contemporary English designs, the estimates are valuable as furnishing a comparative statement of the endurance of different ships, although it would seem that the Americans, in their estimates, have reduced materially the probable error. In the case of the "Blake," for instance, with 9,000 tons' displacement, and a coal capacity of 1,500 tons, her endurance at ten knots is estimated at 15,000 miles, while the "New York," having a coal capacity of 1,500 tons, and a displacement of 8,900 tons with that amount of coal on board, has an estimated endurance of only 13,500 miles. While the English proceed upon the theory that one ton of coal will drive the "Blake" ten miles at ten knots' speed, we only claim for our estimate that one ton will drive the "New York" nine miles at the same speed. The greater accuracy of the American figures is shown in a still more marked degree by a comparison of the "Blake" with Cruiser No. 6. We estimate that Cruiser No. 6, with 1,300 tons of coal on board and then having a displacement of 6,400 tons, will have an endurance of 13,000 miles, while the English claim for the "Blake," carrying 1,500 tons of coal and having a displacement of 9,000 tons, an endurance of 15,000 miles. It thus appears that for a 6,400-ton ship we allow the same amount of coal per mile that the English allow for a vessel of 9,000 tons. In the case of No. 12, we have an additional advantage in the economical working of the third screw, as a result of which, in ordinary cruising, it will only be necessary to use a single engine, and the consumption of coal will, therefore, be less than in any twin-screw ship of the same design.

Until, however, actual experience has been had under many and varied circumstances at sea, neither nation will be able to predict with accuracy the coal endurance of its ships of war. Even in the matter of speed *The Times* believes that the "Blake" will have the advantage over No. 12. The contract for No. 12 requires that she steam in the open sea for four hours at the rate of twenty-one knots, with a pressure in her fire-room not exceeding

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an average of one inch. The estimated speed of the "Blake" with forced draught over a measured mile in smooth water is twenty-two knots. Judging from the results of trials made under these two different conditions, an Englishman would be forced to admit that for continuous steaming at sea the probable advantages would be all on the side of the American vessel.

If the bunkers of No. 12 are filled with 2,000 tons of coal, her displacement will be 9,000 tons, exactly that of the "Blake" carrying 1,500 tons of coal. The designs and workmanship being equal, the speed of the ship may be roughly estimated by the weight of her boilers and engines. These in No. 12 weigh 300 tons more than in the "Blake," while the boilers have a heating surface of more than 45,000 square feet, as against 33,000 in the English vessel. The American vessel is also thirty-seven feet longer and has seven feet less of beam. Therefore if Cruiser No. 12, even when carrying a third more coal, is not a much faster ship than the "Blake," all the theories of naval architects and modern engineers are entirely at fault.

But the most remarkable error found in the editorial of *The Times* remains to be considered. The article says: "There are, moreover, other estimates of a highly speculative character in the American calculations of the speed and coal endurance of their ships. The area of heating surface allowed in the designer's estimates for each unit of indicated horse-power is considerably smaller in the American calculations than the area adopted by the Admiralty as the result of practical experience." As the area of heating surface allowed by the designers for each unit of indicated horse-power is an important factor in determining the ability of a ship to maintain her speed at sea, it becomes important to ascertain whether *The Times* is correct in this statement. Looking into the question, we find that the area of heating surface for each indicated horse-power in the (three) English ships is as follows:

ENGLAND.

	Indicated horse-power.	Heating surface.	Ratio.
"Blake"	20,000	34,000	1.650
"Edgar"	12,000	20,000	1.667
"Latona"	9,000	16,000	1.777
Belted cruisers	9,000	15,900	1.767
	8,650	16,055	1.856
"M" class	9,000	14,000	1.555
	10,000	14,000	1.400
"Archer" class	3,850	5,900	1.532
"Anson" and "Benbow"	11,700	20,244	1.730
"Nile" and "Trafalgar"	12,800	19,390	1.515
"Victoria" and "Sans Pareil"	14,350	20,000	1.394

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In the latest American designs we have the following:

UNITED STATES.	Indicated horse-power.	Heating Surface.	Ratio.
"New York"	16,000	33,120	2.070
No. 6	13,500	28,299	2.096
No. 12	22,000	45,341	2.061
No. 13	22,000	49,150	2.234
"Newark"	8,868	16,736	1.887
"Yorktown"	3,398	8,092	2.381
"San Francisco"	9,913	20,134	2.031
"Charleston"	6,666	15,577	2.337
"Philadelphia"	8,815	20,458	2.321
"Concord"	3,404	8,092	2.377
"Vesuvius"	3,795	8,981	2.366
"Baltimore"	10,065	17,175	1.707

From the above table it appears that, with the single exception of the "Baltimore," every one of our latest designs has a higher ratio of heating surface to indicated horse-power than appears in any of the English ships referred to, and the "Baltimore," being of English design throughout, might properly go into the English column. This high ratio of heating surface means less work for each square foot, and consequently greater endurance and longer life for the boilers, and it effectually disposes of *The Times's* criticism.

It is not, however, necessary to pursue further the study of our neighbors' comments. Most of them which are adverse in character are clearly based upon a misconception of the facts. If our European friends insist upon underrating the qualities of our naval vessels, it is a thankless and unnecessary task to undeceive them. Some of them have made similar mistakes before, and have found out their error only after bitter experience. But it is important that the operations of the Navy Department, inviting the intelligent scrutiny of every citizen, should not be misconstrued by our own people through any inaccuracy of statement.

B. F. TRACY.

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BRUTALITY AND AVARICE TRIUMPHANT.

BY GENERAL RUSH C. HAWKINS.

WOULD it be unpatriotic or in ill adjustment with current facts to suggest that the motto in our national coat-of-arms should be removed, and in its place inserted, "*Plundering Made Easy*"? Our contribution to the world's history for the last thirty years would, I think, sustain the recommendation for such a change. From the beginning of the Rebellion to the present time insatiable greed, practically uncontrolled by law or by any decent show of regard for morality or rights of property, has swept over our land, a mighty, invisible power for evil. The self-respect of the community has been impaired or destroyed, and we have permitted the unscrupulous classes to give us the reputation throughout the civilized world of a nation of political tricksters and business sharpers.

Let us glance at some of the darker chapters of our recent record. In 1861 an army of dishonest contractors selected a struggling people for their victims. Their frauds were notorious and enormous, amounting to scores of millions. Few among them were arrested and none were punished.

As examples of the frauds perpetrated upon the army during the Rebellion, I will give an account of two which came within my own experience.

In the autumn of 1861 I received on the same day, at Hatteras Inlet, two invoices. One was for army shoes; for soles many had shavings-fillings concealed beneath a thin cover of the poorest quality of sole-leather. They were worthless—unequal to a single day's wear. The other invoice was for two hundred rifle-muskets: they were from a lot that had been condemned by a foreign government as being unfit for service. It was rumored at the time that their purchase was effected through the agency

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of a rather high government official. Only sixty of these pieces were issued for use, and thirteen of these were disabled at the first discharge. My representations to the proper government officials, describing fully the nature of these swindles, produced no effect whatever; neither exposure, arrest, nor punishment followed. The probabilities are that individuals having political influence were engaged in each.

Possibly the most successful of all the swindles upon the people during the Civil War was the selling and chartering of worn-out vessels to the government. For the purpose of this paper it is only necessary to describe one transaction. In the winter of 1865 the government was asked to purchase two old hulks for use in the quartermaster's department. A commission of honest experts, consisting of a seaman, a shipbuilder, and a constructing engineer, was appointed. But such a commission was not wanted by the owner; and before it had time to inspect and report upon values he induced the government to appoint another, which in due time reported the hulks to be worth $650,000; and the Quartermaster-General, by very high authority, was ordered to purchase them at that valuation. The payment was made when the Rebellion was near its end, when the government had many vessels for sale and little need for water transportation. Within four months after the purchase the two hulks were offered at public auction for sale, and $35,000 was the best bid received. This swindle was opposed with great energy and warmth by the then Secretary of the Treasury, the Quartermaster-General, and the Third Auditor, but all to no purpose. The superior power invoked by the owner and his influential friends gave an absolute order to purchase, which could not be disobeyed.

The foregoing are only typical examples, and by no means represent the variety of gigantic frauds perpetrated by knaves upon a confiding and patriotic people whose sons were pouring out their life's blood for the preservation of their country. I have always believed that, owing to swindling contracts and incompetent and dishonest officials, the expense of putting down the Rebellion was fully one-third more than it ought to have been. To deliberately defraud a grief-stricken people engaged in such a struggle as we had in hand from 1861 to 1865, involving, as it did, such an unprecedented loss of life, was one of the greatest offences which could be committed, and a person engaged and assisting

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in its commission reached, in my belief, the lowest depths of human depravity known to the calendar of criminal practices.

Next in the great series of schemes for plunder came the land-grant acts, bribed through Congress, and resulting in the gift to corrupt private corporations, having no claim upon the nation, of valuable public lands which amount, in the aggregate, to a territory larger than the whole of France. These lands were voted away in direct violation of moral right and an enlightened public policy, and the magnitude of these gifts is without precedent in the history of legislation. Only one of the railroads assisted was a national necessity, and that ought to have been built, owned, and managed by the government. All the other lines were constructed far in advance of the demand, and the profits of their construction have gone into the pockets of the rascals who promoted these schemes and carried them to successful consummation.

Our accommodating lawmakers supplemented their enormous land donation to the Pacific railroads with loans of government bonds amounting in the aggregate to sixty-five millions of dollars. The voting-away of public domain was bad enough, but the granting of those loans, pledging the credit of the whole people for their payment, for the use of business corporations, or, rather, as it turned out, for the benefit of a little cabal of promoters, was infinitely worse and possibly more corrupt.

Railroad-wrecking is another favorite American industry, which has enriched a set of individuals whose presence would adorn penal institutions. Their formula is very simple : Obtain voting power from enough stock to secure control of any railroad, the most or the least successful—it matters not which ; create a floating debt, decrease earnings, depreciate the value of property, cease paying interest, have a receiver appointed, foreclose and sell the whole franchise to ring purchasers, who reorganize in their own interests by creating a new bonded debt and issuing large amounts of stock. The bonds from the time of their issue pay interest, and dividends upon stock are sometimes paid within the first year after reorganization. This scheme usually deprives small holders of a material portion of their income, and, in its results generally, is among the most cruel of our peculiar rascalities. The railroad receiver is an American specialty, invented for a specific purpose, and unknown to any European country.

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For many years land-stealing from the government has been among the popular and profitable occupations of a considerable number of our citizens. This particular specialty in dishonesty is not confined to class or condition. Rich and poor alike are adepts, and many of the representative men of exceptional influence in the West are now enjoying an edifying Christian repose based on the proceeds of their unlawful takings of the public domain.

Not many years ago the well-known "star-route thieves" were found out. If I remember correctly, about six millions was the amount involved in their special operations; the rascals were indicted and tried in Washington, and of course acquitted. One among their number was well known among the Republican faithful as being an adept in practical politics, who during a certain Presidential campaign had assisted in disbursing a very large sum of money among the corrupt voters of a Western State. For this and other political services a great dinner was given to him, at which the Vice-President-elect of the United States presided. This case must be regarded as one of the results of our "superior civilization." It has been often stated, and, so far as I know, not contradicted, that those "star-route" adepts were very successful in the practice of the arts which lead to the transferring of government lands to themselves, the transfers usually being made without apparent consideration passing to the grantor.

Another great and favorite industry is stealing standing timber from public lands. This is an abuse of fifty years' duration, and to-day wherever there are trees belonging to the people there can be found the timber-thief with axe in hand. During a certain administration of our navy a timber ring having headquarters in the State of Massachusetts carried on an enormous business in stealing timber from government lands in Florida, and selling it to the Navy Department for building wooden ships when there were none to be built; iron having then entirely superseded wood as a material for government ship-building.

The next item to appear in our list of peculiar national industries is that which has come to be known as "stock-watering." I have forgotten when the first great success in this particularly American specialty occurred, but I believe that New York, in respect to this new fraud, sustained, as usual, its bad eminence. In December, 1868, the directors of a certain great railway com-

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pany passed, in substance, a resolution doubling the stock of their corporation. This act was in direct violation both of the corporate charter and of the general railroad law of the State, and in January, 1869, a powerful corps of railroad lobbyists was employed by the officials of that corporation to push through a corrupt Legislature the needed legislation to give life to a deliberate violation of the laws of the State.

From the date of this first colossal offence against public policy and honest commerce, the abuse of stock-watering has assumed gigantic proportions. According to the last "Poor's Manual," we had in operation on December 31, 1890, 161,396.64 miles of ordinary steam surface railroads, which cost, on paper, $9,931,453,146. These are very startling figures, and it is perfectly safe to assert that two-fifths of that amount, viz., $2,972,581,258, represents "water." The street railroads of the country, horse, cable, and electric, could not have cost, including equipment, over $110,000 per mile, but they are stocked and bonded up to about $400,000; and the elevated roads in New York city, which cost less than $17,000,000, are stocked and bonded for more than $60,000,000.

Within the last twenty years many of the great manufacturing industries have merged themselves into corporations or associations, which are called trusts. These also are capitalized for at least three times their actual values.

My estimate of the total of these unwarrantable and dishonest over-issues of stocks and bonds is $5,000,000,000. This constitutes an indirect mortgage upon the national products, industries, and labor of our whole country; and there is a constant struggle, against public welfare and prosperity, to extort from patrons and consumers prices which will pay interest and dividends upon these fraudulently-issued obligations. Corporate bonds are unknown to the laws of European countries. In those older civilizations all stock or debentures issued by railway corporations are sold for face or par value; and if any were issued by officials for less than the stated values, the officials issuing, or rather attempting to issue, them would be arrested for a crime, tried, convicted, and punished as felons.

One of the most facile means in the hands of avarice for cheating the poor and helpless is the "corporation and contractors' store." It is usually owned by corporations whose employees

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are the only patrons, and the rule is to sell the poorest possible quality of supplies at the highest price obtainable. In many instances employees are given to understand that they are expected to trade at the company and contract stores, or, failing to do so, will be discharged. This oppressive method of cheating is not confined to any particular part of the country, but prevails, with varying degrees of malignancy, wherever under one management, either corporate, partnership, or individual, any considerable number of employees are assembled together. Since the close of the Civil War many thousands of ignorant blacks have been made the victims of this common and heartless swindle, which has absorbed their scant earnings. At the end of each month, year in and out, it has proved to their untrained minds an astonishing fact that the longer and the harder they worked the more they got in debt to their employers.

Avarice, once let loose, knows no limits, and never halts in its aggressive career. In the pursuit of gain, human life seems of very little consequence. Sham building is another evil that is clearly attributable to the greed of the capitalist; and the worst illustration of this particular evil is the sham American hotel, which is to be found in every part of the country; in the greatest abundance, however, west of Philadelphia. In southern Colorado, last summer, I saw one, large enough for a hundred and fifty guests, built entirely of pine boards and small scantling; no bricks, stone, or mortar was used, save possibly in the foundations. A fire started in the first story would consume such a building in thirty minutes, and few of the inmates located upon the floors above would escape. Certainly seven-tenths of the hotels in the United States have been erected with special reference to cheapness of construction rather than for the safety of guests. The motto of the hotel-builder is: Cover as much ground as possible; herd the greatest number of guests upon the smallest practicable space; and save expense by substituting sham for substance. The burning of a large hotel at Milwaukee a few years ago, and the later destruction of another at Syracuse, sufficiently prove the truth of these assertions.

The facts recited by a recent correspondent* of the New York *Times* will apply to a large majority of existing American hostel-

* T. V. Johnson, Jr.; letter of October 16, 1890.

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ries. He says: "Apropos of the burning of the Leland House at Syracuse last night, I wish to call the attention of the public to a little incident which happened to me recently when visiting Syracuse. I met a gentleman of my acquaintance, an old resident of Syracuse, who asked me where I intended to stay. I told him at the Leland House, whereupon he said: 'If you have any regard for the safety of your life, do not by any means go to the Leland House. I watched that hotel all the time it was building, and there is not a brick partition in the whole house—nothing but wood and plaster. If it ever takes fire there will be a terrible loss of life.'" The moral of this story can be readily drawn by those who are interested.

In Europe the construction of public hotels is managed differently. The Grand and Continental, at Paris, the Langham, Grand, Victoria, Métropole, the Inns of Court, and the Avenue Hotel, in London, and others in Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg were erected with special reference to housing a large number of human beings in the safest manner possible. They are, in several instances, like great fortifications; they are so solidly put together, the rooms and floors are so separated by bricks and mortar, that a fire could not spread beyond its original location.

Possibly the usual inflammable tinder-box American theatre is a still completer example of our sham building than the average hotel.

Look, again, at the unprecedented destruction of game upon our continent. It is chiefly caused by avarice. In the forests of the Northern and Eastern States the moose and deer are almost extinct, and the smaller quadrupeds, such as coons and gray, red, black, and flying squirrels, are rapidly passing away. In the West the bear and elk families are fast disappearing; and the wanton slaughter of the great herds of North American bison forms one of the most discouraging chapters in the history of our cruelties. With the construction of the first railroad to the Pacific Ocean commenced this wholesale, indiscriminate destruction. While it lasted, accounts were often published in our newspapers of bison being shot by passengers from the windows of moving trains. In most instances they were wounded and left to die lingering and painful deaths. In this business many brutal Englishmen who "came out to America to shoot" took the lead; but they soon found a numerous following among the callow snobs of our

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large cities, who seem to exist only to imitate the follies, vices, and *outré* idiosyncracies of the idle English classes. With the great killing for pleasure came the greater butchering for profit; and so persistently were both pursued that in less than four years the finest and most picturesque of all the animals peculiar to our continent was practically exterminated. During the years 1872–73–74 there were killed of the southern herd 3,698,130, and about 1,000,000 of the northern herd. Five millions of head killed in those years are about the figures of this unparalleled extermination. It is estimated that in the whole of North America there are now 635 American bison running wild and 456 in captivity, making a total of 1,091. These lamentable statistics stand for unprecedented savagery.

The beautiful feathered tribes, lovely songsters of the forest and meadows, have fared no better than their four-footed companions of the prairies and mountains. How well I remember the cheery spring songs incident to the New England meadow! Having once heard them, who could ever forget the liquid jingling notes of the bobolink, the mellow song of the meadow lark, and the joyous trillings of the thrush! The robin, the wren, the ground-sparrow, the woodpecker and jay, and scores of others which came to greet us with their merry chirps and calls with the advent of every spring, are also not to be forgotten. Now in their retreats we see the human biped with gun and bag, shooting down anything that can fly, if only it has a wing or a feather large enough to adorn the head of vanity. To the demands of commerce, the wantonness of the purchaser, and the ignorance of those to whom the power of making our laws is given, we may look for the certain destruction of every species of American song and plumage birds. Before the end of the next fifty years the brute of the bird-gun and bag may hang both upon his wall for want of use.

The proposed fish-culture, while an admirable measure, will be futile unless reënforced and sustained by legislation, which is in many States entirely lacking as yet. The drain upon the food fishes which inhabit the waters near the shores of our continent is very rapidly increasing, and bids fair, within a few years, unless some check is imposed by the Canadian and our own government, to exterminate several valuable species of table fish. The lobster is already fast diminishing, and will be the first to disappear;

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then the choicer groups of oysters will go; then the runs of cod-fish will be greatly reduced, and the salmon will probably disappear. The destruction of the latter upon the western coast of a portion of our continent is without precedent. A Canadian official connected with the Bureau of Dominions Fisheries has estimated that in less than twenty years, at the present rate of catching for the canneries, the salmon will be seen no more in its present haunts. Of the many millions taken each season, a large proportion are too young and small for canning, but, instead of being put back in the water, a small piece is cut from the middle of the body and the rest of the fish is thrown away. The brook-trout of the mountain streams were nearly exterminated long ago, and their home disappeared with our forests, never to return until the latter are rehabilitated.

There is the same history with the seal. Lately an official statement has been made to our government to the effect that there are not more than 125,000 fur seals left in the waters of Alaska; coupled with that statement was a recommendation that no more killing should be permitted for a period of seven years. Unless something is done by the united action of Russia, England, and our own government, there is danger of this most valuable of all fur-bearing animals becoming extinct in a very short time.

Yet we have not described thus far what is perhaps the most wanton and wicked cruelty of this sickening history. It is the wholesale and monstrous destruction of domestic stock west of the Mississippi River. It is a well-known fact that from the most northerly to the southern boundaries of our stock-ranges there is neither winter food nor shelter provided for horned cattle or sheep. The old of both kinds and the young are all herded together in the open fields, utterly unprotected from wind, rain, or snow; there is neither shrub, bush, nor tree to shelter them. In many parts of the north and west covered by these feeding fields the snowfall is very deep, and often lasts from three to six weeks. While these snows cover the earth, the grazing stock is absolutely without food. The consequent mortality is appalling. According to official statistics from 12 to 15½ per cent. of the cattle and from 17 to 27½ per cent. of the sheep died from exposure to cold and want of food during the winter of 1889 and 1890. The total number of animals which thus perished is put down at

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3,470,600 head. Doubtless the number was much larger, and 4,000,000 would be a more correct estimate of the total.

What a world of pain and suffering these figures suggest! The poor animals relieved by death suffered, perhaps, no more than those that survived only to be mercilessly transported in overcrowded cars and slaughtered at the end of their journey. We may, in my belief, search in vain through all history for a parallel to match that gigantic scheme of cruelty. It continues from year to year, and has continued in an unbroken stream for more than a quarter of a century, without even a protest from lawmakers or the Christian clergy. Christianity, indeed, has neither preached nor practised humanity towards animals. But Sunday-school children by hundreds of thousands are taught what a terrible thing it is to break the Sabbath; museum trustees tremble with pious horror at the suggestion of opening the doors leading to the collections on that day; missionaries by the thousand are sent to the far east, west, and south to convert the kindly heathen from their evil ways—heathen who do not know the A B C of dishonesty and cruelty as practised in Christian America. And so we go on over the world, straining out the gnats of other people and swallowing whole herds of camels at our own doors.

When in Chicago a few months ago, I expressed to a leading citizen of that city a desire to see one of the great slaughtering establishments. With an expression clearly indicating his astonishment at my request, he advised me to avoid such a horrible sight, at the same time saying it was the most disgusting of all occupations, and, as to the slaughter of hogs, most unnecessarily cruel. In the West this industry is very much lauded, possibly for the profits it yields, and the packer is regarded as a representative man, typical of "Western progress."

But if all of our other much-lauded iniquities of avarice could be combined in one, the joint result would sink into insignificance when placed by the side of our two hundred and fifty years of cruel treatment of the Indians.

At Cambridge, in Massachusetts, in the year 1661 was published the first edition of Eliot's translation of the New Testament into the Indian language; and in 1663, in the same town, was issued his complete translation, into the same tongue, of the whole Bible.

In the autumn of 1676, near Dover, Captain Waldron, under

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pretence of a sham fight, decoyed a considerable body of peaceful Indians to his camp, and, after depriving them of their arms by deceit, made them prisoners. Two hundred of the number thus captured were sent to the West Indies and sold for slaves, and the good pious Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, who had furnished them with Bibles for the benefit of their souls, reaped the financial results flowing from the sale of their bodies, and recorded themselves as the first of the American colonists to sell human beings into slavery.

From that time to the present, fraud, rapacity, and cruelty are the words which most fittingly describe our intercourse with these helplesss wards of a powerful people. They have been habitually cheated in the quality and quantity of supplies furnished by the government under treaty stipulations. Solemn treaties made with them to-day are broken to-morrow, in the interest of fraud. Indian agents very often are of the spoilsman-politician class, who ally themselves with dishonest contractors for the purpose of promoting schemes to plunder their charges; and often Indians have been provoked—exasperated—to the commission of an offence by unthrifty whites, who would seize such an event as an excuse for an Indian war; their object being the assembling, in a certain non-prosperous locality, of a considerable body of troops, necessitating large expenditures of government moneys. These wretches would burn down a city to roast a pig. Various Indian tribes were concentrated upon reservations, but the cheating continued at the agencies; and now the scheming white settler and the railroad sharp, in the "interest of progress and civilization," declare that the Indians are not entitled to their own, and are bringing to bear upon Congress and Federal officials all the varieties of influence which accomplished rascality can invent to drive them from the rightful possessions.

The late General Harney probably knew as much of the character of the North American Indians as any man that ever lived. His active intercourse with them covered a period of over forty years. He used to say of the savage Indians, before they were contaminated by contact with the whites, that they were the most honest and truthful people he had ever known. He had never caught one in an untruth, and was sure they did not know how to lie. These views were emphatically confirmed by the late General Wool, who used to add that the Indian agents were all thieves.

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General Albert Pike, another friend of the Indian, and a believer in the natural nobility of his character, recently died in Washington. He wrote, October 2, 1890:

"I have had much to do with several Indian tribes. I have known a great many of their chiefs; have been counsel for two of the civilized tribes against the United States; have commanded their troops; acted as superintendent, and made treaties as commissioner of the Confederate States; met the five civilized tribes, the Osages, Quapaws, Senecas and Shawnees, the Comanches and Caiawos, Caddos, Aiouais, Kichois, Toncawes, Tawaihâst, Huecos, and Tâwâcâros, and have known many Delawares, Shawânôs, and Skekapos. I think they are the most honest and truthful people in the world, and the most confiding when they give their confidence at all. Not in one instance did those with whom I made treaties ask any change that was not right and fair; and whatever my decision was, it was acquiesced in by all and accepted with perfect contentment. I never knew a claim made to property by any of them, or a claim for compensation preferred, that was not just and reasonable. All the tribes with which I made treaties kept them to the letter and in spirit, in perfect good faith. Up to that [my] time no treaty had ever done complete justice to any Indian tribe. Almost invariably the Indians were tricked and deceived by the whites, their just claims cut down, and most shamefully unjust clauses against them allowed and enforced.

"General Sam Houston said to me once that the United States had never made a treaty with the Indians which they did not deliberately violate; and that was true. All Indians are not alike. The Apaches, it was always said, were treacherous and faithless. The Navajos were neither, but truthful, upright, and honest, and they have been plundered without compunction or shame.

"In my opinion, there has seldom been an Indian war or outbreak that was not caused by violating a treaty or other gross bad faith or wrong dealing on the part of our government or people. For fifty years an invisible line divided the people of Arkansas from the Cherokees, Creeks, and Choctaws; and in all that long time no complaint was made by the Indians against the whites or whites against Indians."

The foregoing is the testimony of an intelligent and disinterested witness of great experience. His estimate of the Indian character is fully sustained by Canadian officials who have, from time to time, had control of the Indian tribes of that country; and, to our everlasting shame, the experience just on the north side of our border proves our iniquity in dealing with our Indians. There, humanity and good faith have dictated the rule of action in dealing with them, and the result is that Canada has never an Indian war, an uprising, or any serious trouble with a single tribe.

On December 3 of last year, the United States Senate discussed a resolution to furnish arms and ammunition to the inhabitants

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of North and South Dakota, to enable them to defend themselves against attacks that might be made upon them by the Indians then assembled at Pine Ridge. While debating the resolution Senator Voorhees, of Indiana, made a strong plea for better treatment. His arraignment of the government was unanswerable and effective. Among his remarks occurs the following pathetic appeal:

"I shall not oppose the passage of this resolution, and I shall not vote against the issuance of these arms to the people; but I cannot let it pass, with the feelings I entertain in regard to the administration of our Indian affairs, without a word.

"If the proposition were to issue 100,000 rations and more to the starving Indians, it would be more consistent with Christian civilization than the policy we are now pursuing. When a major-general of the War Department is publicly interviewed and publishes that the Indians are driven to revolt—rebellion, if you please to call it—and to the savagery of the Indian warfare by starvation, it becomes an inexpiable crime, in my judgment, on the part of this government to stand silently by and do nothing except to furnish arms. General Miles has stated to the public, and to me before he did to the public, that these Indians are being starved into hostility, and that they prefer to die fighting to being starved to death.

"I look upon the policy which has been pursued by the administration of Indian affairs as a crime revolting to man and God. I look upon the present outbreak, or the threatened outbreak,—which will bring not merely the destruction of the Indians, but will bathe the snows of the northwest crimson with the blood of our brave soldiers and officers,—as something revolting in the extreme. Instead of sitting here debating election bills and force bills, and providing for the issuance of arms to the States in the northwest, we should be hurrying, anxiously and eagerly, to provide for the feeding of these starving people. General Miles says they have been hungry for the last two years; that they are devoured with hunger, wretched, and perfectly desperate, and would rather die with arms in their hands than with empty stomachs.

"They have no newspapers. Their privations and griefs and sufferings cannot be made known. They have been suffering in silence there for years, while guilt is somewhere."

It is probably true that the North American Indians are not the superior beings described by the witness cited; but what they were or are matters very little. If they were as bad as their worst enemies describe them to be, their imperfections of character would be no excuse for our faithlessness in dealing with them.

The point I desire to make in closing this account of a few of our shortcomings is this: The misdeeds described are perpetrated in the open light of day, and go on year after year without protest either from the Federal or State governments or from

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any considerable portion of our people. One of the unwritten mottoes of our business morals seems to say in the plainest phraseology possible : "Successful wrong is right."

The general government finds no difficulty in punishing a counterfeiter who issues false money, be the amount ever so small, or a post-office clerk who takes a few dollars from a letter. But the man who is a power in politics, who steals public lands by the thousands of acres ; the schemer who robs the public treasury of great amounts of money, or the agent who yearly cheats the Indians out of scores of thousands of dollars, is beyond the reach of those who administer and execute our laws. Great knaves who succeed are respected and often admired. Little thieves are regarded as contemptible, and fill our prisons. But the big ones live in palaces, and are usually great powers in the communities in which they live.

Not long ago a French official, an expert in a special department, who had held over from the empire, complained to a friend that he was compelled to employ twenty clerks to do the work done by four under the empire. He was asked if he knew of any reason for the change, and answered : "It is the republic." "But why do you not prevent this abuse ? You are the head of the bureau, and have the power." "Yes, I know I have the power ; but I have been in this position for more than thirty years, and am now too old to learn another occupation ; and I *must* make places for the friends of the deputies." And so it is here. The republic and the friends of the deputies of the people must be favored. Neither the republic nor separate States hinder or check the offences of individuals of political importance, whose crimes are against the property of the people, or of others whose deeds of plundering and cruelty result in considerable profits.

The influence of these offences against civilization is far-reaching and destructive. The fact that a considerable number of individuals obtain great wealth by dishonest schemes and cruel practices is of little moment when compared with the effect their financial successes produce upon particular communities and the country at large. They have established a national standard, and now only one kind of success is acknowledged. Morality has no market value. High character is impracticable, and intellectual achievement pays no dividends. These qualities count for very little in the estimation of the public when compared with the glory of great possessions.

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The ownership of millions, no matter how obtained, constitutes a theme of almost national admiration; and if they were stolen outright and their possessor is out of prison, the homage would be about the same. The motto is: "We worship the millions in hand, and no questions asked."

Is it not time that there should be an awakening?

RUSH C. HAWKINS.

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IS AVARICE TRIUMPHANT?

BY COLONEL ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

THERE are many people, in all countries, who seem to enjoy individual and national decay. They love to prophesy the triumph of evil. They mistake the afternoon of their own lives for the evening of the world. To them everything has changed. Men are no longer honest or brave, and women have ceased to be beautiful. They are dyspeptic, and it gives them the greatest pleasure to say that the art of cooking has been lost.

For many generations many of these people occupied the pulpits. They lifted the hand of warning whenever the human race took a step in advance. As wealth increased, they declared that honesty and goodness and self-denial and charity were vanishing from the earth. They doubted the morality of well-dressed people—considered it impossible that the prosperous should be pious. Like owls sitting on the limbs of a dead tree, they hooted the obsequies of spring, believing it would come no more.

There are some patriots who think it their duty to malign and slander the land of their birth. They feel that they have a kind of Cassandra mission, and they really seem to enjoy their work. They honestly believe that every kind of crime is on the increase, that the courts are all corrupt, that the legislators are bribed, that the witnesses are suborned, that all holders of office are dishonest; and they feel like a modern Marius sitting amid the ruins of all the virtues.

It is useless to endeavor to persuade these people that they are wrong. They do not want arguments, because they will not heed them. They need medicine. Their case is not for a philosopher, but for a physician.

General Hawkins is probably right when he says that some fraudulent shoes, some useless muskets, and some worn-out vessels were sold to the government during the war; but we must re-

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member that there were millions and millions of as good shoes as art and honesty could make, millions of the best muskets ever constructed, and hundreds of the most magnificent ships ever built, sold to the government during the same period. We must not mistake an eddy for the main stream. We must also remember another thing: there were millions of good, brave, and patriotic men to wear the shoes, to use the muskets, and to man the ships.

So it is probably true that Congress was extravagant in land subsidies voted to railroads; but that this legislation was secured by bribery is preposterous. It was all done in the light of noon. There is not the slightest evidence tending to show that the general policy of hastening the construction of railways through the territories of the United States was corruptly adopted—not the slightest. At the same time, it may be that some members of Congress were induced by personal considerations to vote for such subsidies. As a matter of fact, the policy was wise, and through the granting of the subsidies thousands of miles of railways were built, and these railways have given to civilization vast territories which otherwise would have remained substantially useless to the world. Where at that time was a wilderness now are some of the most thriving cities in the United States—a great, an industrious, and a happy population. The results have justified the action of Congress.

It is also true that some railroads have been "wrecked" in the United States, but most of these wrecks have been the result of competition. It is the same with corporations as with individuals—the powerful combine against the weak. In the world of commerce and businsss is the great law of the survival of the strongest. Railroads are not eleemosynary institutions. They have but little regard for the rights of one another. Some fortunes have been made by the criminal "wrecking" of roads, but even in the business of corporations honesty is the best policy, and the companies that have acted in accordance with the highest standard, other things being equal, have reaped the richest harvest.

Many railways were built in advance of a demand; they had to develop the country through which they passed. While they waited for immigration, interest accumulated; as a result foreclosure took place; then reorganization. By that time the country had been populated; towns were springing up along the

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line; increased business was the result. On the new bonds and the new stock the company paid interest and dividends. Then the ones who first invested and lost their money felt that they had been defrauded.

So it is easy to say that certain men are guilty of crimes—easy to indict the entire nation, and at the same time impossible to substantiate one of the charges. Every one who knows the history of the star-route trials knows that nothing was established against the defendants, knows that every effort was made by the government to convict them, and also knows that an unprejudiced jury of twelve men, never suspected of being improperly influenced, after having heard the entire case, pronounced the defendants not guilty. After this, of course, any one can say, who knows nothing of the evidence and who cares nothing for the facts, that the defendants were all guilty.

It may also be true that some settlers in the far West have taken timber from the public lands, and it may be that it was a necessity. Our laws and regulations were such that where a settler was entitled to take up a certain amount of land he had to take it all in one place; he could not take a certain number of acres on the plains and a certain number of acres in the timber. The consequence was that when he settled upon the land—the land that he could cultivate—he took the timber that he needed from the government land, and this has been called stealing. So I suppose it may be said that the cattle stole the government's grass and possibly drank the government's water.

It will also be admitted with pleasure that stock has been "watered" in this country. And what is the crime or practice known as watering stock? For instance, you have a railroad one hundred miles long, worth, we will say, $3,000,000—able to pay interest on that sum at the rate of 6 per cent. Now, we all know that the amount of stock issued has nothing to do with the value of the thing represented by the stock. If there was one share of stock representing this railroad, it would be worth three million dollars, whether it said on its face it was one dollar or one hundred dollars. If there were three million shares of stock issued on this property, they would be worth one dollar apiece, and, no matter whether it said on this stock that each share was a hundred dollars or a thousand dollars, the share would be worth one dollar—no more, no less. If any one wishes to find

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the value of stock, he should find the value of the thing represented by the stock. It is perfectly clear that, if a pie is worth one dollar and you cut it into four pieces, each piece is worth twenty-five cents; and if you cut it in a thousand pieces, you do not increase the value of the pie. If, then, you wish to find the value of a share of stock, find its relation to the thing represented by all the stock.

It can also be safely admitted that trusts have been formed. The reason is perfectly clear. Corporations are like individuals —they combine. Unfortunate corporations become socialistic, anarchistic, and cry out against the abuses of trusts. It is natural for corporations to defend themselves—natural for them to stop ruinous competition by a profitable pool; and when strong corporations combine, little corporations suffer. It is with corporations as with fishes—the large eat the little; and it may be that this will prove a public benefit in the end. When the large corporations have taken possession of the little ones, it may be that the government will take possession of them—the government being the largest corporation of them all.

It is to be regretted that all houses are not fireproof; but certainly no one imagines that the people of this country build houses for the purpose of having them burned, or that they erect hotels having in view the broiling of guests. Men act as they must; that is to say, according to wants and necessities. In a new country the buildings are cheaper than in an old one, money is scarcer, interest higher, and consequently people build cheaply and take the risks of fire. They do not do this on account of the constitution of the United States, or the action of political parties, or the general idea that man is entitled to be free. In the hotels of Europe it may be that there is not as great danger of fire as of famine.

The destruction of game and of the singing birds is to be greatly regretted, not only in this country, but in all others. The people of America have been too busy felling forests, ploughing fields, and building houses, to cultivate, to the highest degree, the æsthetic side of their natures. Nature has been somewhat ruthless with us. The storms of winter breasted by the Western pioneer, the whirlwinds of summer, have tended, it may be, to harden somewhat the sensibilities; in consequence of which they have allowed their horses and cattle to bear the rigors of the same climate.

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It is also true that the seal-fisheries are being destroyed, in the interest of the present, by those who care nothing for the future. All these things are to be deprecated, are to be spoken against; but we must not hint, provided we are lovers of the republic, that such things are caused by free institutions.

General Hawkins asserts that "Christianity has neither preached nor practised humanity towards animals," while at the same time "Sunday-school children by hundreds of thousands are taught what a terrible thing it is to break the Sabbath"; that "museum trustees tremble with pious horror at the suggestion of opening the doors leading to the collections on that day," and that no protests have come "from lawmakers or the Christian clergy."

Few people will suspect me of going out of my way to take care of Christianity or of the clergy. At the same time, I can afford to state the truth. While there is not much in the Bible with regard to practising humanity towards animals, there is at least this: "The merciful man is merciful to his beast." Of course, I am not alluding now to the example set by Jehovah when he destroyed the cattle of the Egyptians with hailstones and diseases on account of the sins of their owners.

In regard to the treatment of animals Christians have been much like other people.

So, hundreds of lawmakers have not only protested against cruelty to animals, but enough have protested against it to secure the enactment of laws making cruelty towards animals a crime. Henry Bergh, who did as much good as any man who has lived in the nineteenth century, was seconded in his efforts by many of the Christian clergy not only, but by hundreds and thousands of professing Christians—probably millions. Let us be honest.

It is true that the clergy are apt to lose the distinction between offences and virtues, to regard the little as the important—that is to say, to invert the pyramid.

It is true that the Indians have been badly treated. It is true that the fringe of civilization has been composed of many low and cruel men. It is true that the red man has been demoralized by the vices of the white. It is a frightful fact that, when a superior race meets an inferior, the inferior imitates only the vices of the superior, and the superior those of the inferior. They exchange faults and failings. This is one of the most terrible facts in the history of the human race.

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Nothing can be said to justify our treatment of the Indians. There is, however, this shadow of an excuse: In the old times, when we lived along the Atlantic, it hardly occurred to our ancestors that they could ever go beyond the Ohio; so the first treaty with the Indians drove them back but a few miles. In a little while, through immigration, the white race passed the line, and another treaty was made, forcing the Indians still further west; yet the tide of immigration kept on, and in a little while again the line was passed, the treaty violated. Another treaty was made, pushing the Indians still further toward the Pacific, across the Illinois, across the Mississippi, across the Missouri, violating at every step some treaty made; and each treaty born of the incapacity of the white men who made it to foretell the growth of the republic.

But the author of "Brutality and Avarice Triumphant" made a great mistake when he selected the last thirty years of our national life as the period within which the Americans have made a change of the national motto appropriate, and asserted that now there should be in place of the old motto the words, "Plundering Made Easy."

Most men believe in a sensible and manly patriotism. No one should be blind to the defects in the laws and institutions of his country. He should call attention to abuses, not for the purpose of bringing his country into disrepute, but that the abuses may cease and the defects be corrected. He should do what he can to make his country great, prosperous, just, and free. But it is hardly fair to exaggerate the faults of your country for the purpose of calling attention to your own virtues, or to earn the praise of a nation that hates your own. This is what might be called wallowing in the gutter of reform.

The thirty years chosen as the time in which we as a nation have passed from virtue to the lowest depths of brutality and avarice are, in fact, the most glorious years in the life of this or of any other nation.

In 1861 slavery was, in a legal sense at least, a national institution. It was firmly imbedded in the federal constitution. The Fugitive-Slave Law was in full force and effect. In all the Southern and in nearly all of the Northern States it was a crime to give food, shelter, or raiment to a man or woman seeking liberty by flight. Humanity was illegal, hospitality a misdemeanor,

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and charity a crime. Men and women were sold like beasts. Mothers were robbed of their babes while they stood under our flag. All the sacred relations of life were trampled beneath the bloody feet of brutality and avarice. Besides, so firmly was slavery fixed in law and creed, in statute and Scripture, that the tongues of honest men were imprisoned. Those who spoke for the slave were mobbed by Northern lovers of the "Union."

Now, it seems to me that those were the days when the motto could properly have been, "Plundering Made Easy." Those were the days of brutality, and the brutality was practised to the end that we might make money out of the unpaid labor of others.

It is not necessary to go into details as to the cause of the then condition; it is enough to say that the whole nation, North and South, was responsible. There were many years of compromise, and thousands of statesmen, so called, through conventions and platforms, did what they could to preserve slavery and keep the Union. These efforts corrupted politics, demoralized our statesmen, polluted our courts, and poisoned our literature. The Websters, Bentons, and Clays mistook temporary expedients for principles, and really thought that the progress of the world could be stopped by the resolutions of a packed political convention. Yet these men, mistaken as they really were, worked and wrought unconsciously in the cause of human freedom. They believed that the preservation of the Union was the one important thing, and that it could not be preserved unless slavery was protected—unless the North would be faithful to the bargain as written in the constitution. For the purpose of keeping the nation true to the Union and false to itself, these men exerted every faculty and all their strength. They exhausted their genius in showing that slavery was not, after all, very bad, and that disunion was the most terrible calamity that could by any possibility befall the nation, and that the Union, even at the price of slavery, was the greatest possible blessing. They did not suspect that slavery would finally strike the blow for disunion. But when the time came and the South unsheathed the sword, the teachings of these men as to the infinite value of the Union gave to our flag millions of brave defenders.

Now let us see what has been accomplished during the thirty years of "Brutality and Avarice."

The republic has been rebuilt and reunited, and we shall re-

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main one people for many centuries to come. The Mississippi is nature's protest against disunion. The constitution of the United States is now the charter of human freedom, and all laws inconsistent with the idea that all men are entitled to liberty have been repealed. The black man knows that the constitution is his shield, that the laws protect him, that our flag is his, and the black mother feels that her babe belongs to her. Where the slave-pen used to be you will find a schoolhouse. The dealer in human flesh is now a teacher; instead of lacerating the back of a child, he develops and illumines the mind of a pupil.

There is now freedom of speech. Men are allowed to utter their thoughts. Lips are no longer sealed by mobs. Never before in the history of our world has so much been done for education.

The amount of business done in a country on credit is the measure of confidence, and confidence is based upon honesty. So it may truthfully be said that, where a vast deal of business is done on credit, an exceedingly large per cent. of the people are regarded as honest. In our country a very large per cent. of contracts are faithfully fulfilled. Probably there is no nation in the world where so much business is done on credit as in the United States. The fact that the credit of the republic is second to that of no other nation on the globe would seem to be at least an indication of a somewhat general diffusion of honesty.

The author of "Brutality and Avarice Triumphant" seems to be of the opinion that our country was demoralized by the war. They who fight for the right are not degraded—they are ennobled. When men face death and march to the mouths of the guns for a principle, they grow great; and if they come out of the conflict, they come with added moral grandeur; they become better men, better citizens, and they love more intensely than ever the great cause for the success of which they put their lives in pawn.

The period of the Revolution produced great men. After the great victory the sons of the heroes degenerated, and some of the greatest principles involved in the Revolution were almost forgotten.

During the Civil War the North grew great and the South was educated. Never before in the history of mankind was there such a period of moral exaltation. The names that shed the brightest, the whitest light on the pages of our history be-

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came famous then. Against the few who were actuated by base and unworthy motives let us set the great army that fought for the republic, the millions who bared their breasts to the storm, the hundreds and hundreds of thousands who did their duty honestly, nobly, and went back to their wives and children with no thought except to preserve the liberties of themselves and their fellow-men.

Of course there were some men who did not do their duty—some men false to themselves and to their country. No one expects to find sixty-five millions of saints in America. A few years ago a lady complained to the president of a Western railroad that a brakeman had spoken to her with great rudeness. The president expressed his regret at the incident, and said among other things: "Madam, you have no idea how difficult it is for us to get gentlemen to fill all those places."

It is hardly to be expected that the American people should excel all others in the arts, in poetry, and in fiction. We have been very busy taking possession of the republic. It is hard to overestimate the courage, the industry, the self-denial it has required to fell the forests, to subdue the fields, to construct the roads, and to build the countless homes. What has been done is a certificate of the honesty and industry of our people.

It is not true that "one of the unwritten mottoes of our business morals seems to say in the plainest phraseology possible: 'Successful wrong is right.'" Men in this country are not esteemed simply because they are rich; inquiries are made as to how they made their money, as to how they use it. The American people do not fall upon their knees before the golden calf; the worst that can be said is that they think too much of the gold of the calf—and this distinction is seen by the calves themselves.

Nowhere in the world is honesty in business esteemed more highly than here. There are millions of business men—merchants, bankers, and men engaged in all trades and professions—to whom reputation is as dear as life.

There is one thing in the article "Brutality and Avarice Triumphant" that seems even more objectionable than the rest, and that is the statement, or, rather, the insinuation, that all the crimes and the shortcomings of the American people can be accounted for by the fact that our government is a re-

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public. We are told that not long ago a French official complained to a friend that he was compelled to employ twenty clerks to do the work done by four under the empire, and on being asked the reason answered: "It is the republic." He was told that, as he was the head of the bureau, he could prevent the abuse, to which he replied: "I know I have the power; but I have been in this position for more than thirty years, and am now too old to learn another occupation, and I *must* make places for the friends of the deputies." And then it is added by General Hawkins: "*And so it is here.*"

It seems to me that it cannot be fairly urged that we have abused the Indians because we contend that all men have equal rights before the law, or because we insist that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The probability is that a careful reading of the history of the world will show that nations under the control of kings and emperors have been guilty of some cruelty. To account for the bad we do by the good we believe is hardly logical. Our virtues should not be made responsible for our vices.

Is it possible that free institutions tend to the demoralization of men? Is a man dishonest because he is a man and maintains the rights of men? In order to be a moral nation must we be controlled by king or emperor? Is human liberty a mistake? Is it possible that a citizen of the great republic attacks the liberty of his fellow-citizens? Is he willing to abdicate? Is he willing to admit that his rights are not equal to the rights of others? Is he, for the sake of what he calls morality, willing to become a serf, a servant, or a slave?

Is it possible that "high character is impracticable" in this republic? Is this the experience of the author of "Brutality and Avarice Triumphant"? Is it true that "intellectual achievement pays no dividends"? Is it not a fact that America is to-day the best market in the world for books, for music, and for Art?

There is in our country no real foundation for these wide and sweeping slanders. This, in my judgment, is the best government, the best country, in the world. The citizens of this republic are, on the average, better clothed and fed and educated than any other people. They are fuller of life, more progressive, quicker to take advantage of the forces of nature, than any other of the children of men. Here the burdens of government are

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lightest, the responsibilities of the individual greatest, and here, in my judgment, are to be worked out the most important problems of social science.

Here in America is a finer sense of what is due from man to man than you will find in other lands. We do not cringe to those whom chance has crowned; we stand erect.

Our sympathies are strong and quick. Generosity is almost a national failing. The hand of honest want is rarely left unfilled. Great calamities open the hearts and hands of all.

Here you will find democracy in the family—republicanism by the fireside. Say what you will, the family is apt to be patterned after the government. If a king is at the head of the nation, the husband imagines himself the monarch of the home. In this country we have carried into the family the idea on which the government is based. Here husbands and wives are beginning to be equals.

The highest test of civilization is the treatment of women and children. By this standard America stands first among nations.

There is a magnitude, a scope, a grandeur, about this country—an amplitude—that satisfies the heart and the imagination. We have our faults, we have our virtues, but our country is the best.

No American should ever write a line that can be sneeringly quoted by an enemy of the great republic.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

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COMPULSORY PHYSICAL EDUCATION.

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF MEATH.

IT CAN hardly be doubted that the conditions of modern city life are not favorable to the physical development of the human race. It is true that in cities are to be found the cleverest physicians and the best opportunities for the cure of maladies and the preservation of life. It is true that, owing to the advances made in science and medicine, the vital spark has been kept alight in many a body which in former times would not have been able to sustain the flickering flame. But this preservation of weakly existences is, from a physical point of view, a doubtful benefit to mankind.

In rougher times the strong alone survived, and handed on their strength to succeeding generations ; now the weaklings are enabled to transmit their weaknesses to posterity. Men live more and more in towns and less in the country. Their occupations require, as a rule, less physical strength than those of agriculturists. Mechanical appliances are continually being invented to relieve them from the necessity of exercising their muscles. There are many engaged in sedentary occupations in the large centres of population who have entirely ceased to take any active exercise. They drive to their places of business ; they do not even care to mount the few steps leading to their offices, but prefer to ascend in elevators or lifts ; they remain seated the entire day and drive back to their homes at night, to spend the evening resting on sofas or easy chairs until it is time for bed.

It may be said that this is true only of the rich, and only of a small number even of them ; but, unfortunately, the want of exercise is not confined to them. The extension of easy and cheap means of communication in the large towns of both England and America tempts all classes but the very poorest to start later

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and drive by omnibus or train to and from their places of business or occupation. Workingmen also in large numbers make use of the train and the tram, and there are now few trades or occupations in which machinery does not relieve man of much of the hard work which formerly strengthened his limbs.

It is, however, more especially to the physical condition of the children of the working classes living in large cities that I desire now to draw attention. Amongst the lowest strata of society, confinement in crowded workshops and badly-ventilated rooms, unwholesome and ill-cooked food, close courts, narrow streets, and public-house or saloon life conduce to ill health; and ill health is the parent of weakly children. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if the physique of the masses dwelling in cities should slowly but steadily degenerate. That this is the case can hardly be doubted. Compare children in the most neglected village in the country with those to be met in the denser portion of the large towns of England or America. Compare these children with those living in the less crowded parts of the city. In Great Britain, at all events, since the establishment of board schools such a comparison can easily be made. It will be found that the denser and poorer the neighborhood the lower will be the physique of its children. A competition in drill takes place annually between board schools of London, and upon these occasions the above fact becomes distinctly apparent. The School Board of London has shown itself most anxious to counteract amongst the rising generation the physically-deteriorating influences of city life, but until recently its hands have been tied by foolish legislation. Now for the first time board schools throughout England are permitted to teach physical exercises to their scholars, and presumably, therefore, to pay for the necessary instruction and apparatus.

This is a most decided step in advance, but we British must go still further, and not only *permit* school boards to develop the bodies as well as the minds of the children committed to their care, but rather compel or bribe them to take interest in the subject. It will be easier to accomplish the latter than the former, and with this view at the last session I introduced a bill into the House of Lords placing physical exercises, as regards schools in towns with a population of over 15,000, in the category of those subjects which must be taught by every school authority desiring

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to obtain the highest government grant. As was naturally to be expected, the government declined to accept the bill, and it had to be withdrawn; but the refusal was couched in terms which give hope that the Education Department is not blind to the needs of the country in this respect, and that it will on a future occasion yield, if the subject be brought forward with sufficient support both inside and outside the House. The bill was a very short one, and contained only one clause, which was as follows:

"The school authority for every elementary school in any populous town shall make fit and proper provision, to the satisfaction of the inspector, for the instruction and practice of all scholars of both sexes in physical education and exercises connected therewith, and no school or department of a school shall receive the higher of the two principal grants under section one hundred and one of the new code of regulations issued by the Education Department during the present session of Parliament, or under any other code for the time being in force, unless the requisition of this section be complied with to the satisfaction of the inspector as aforesaid."

The chairman of the Physical-Education Committee of the London School Board lent most valuable assistance in drafting the bill, and the National Physical-Recreation Society, of which the Right Hon. Herbert Gladstone, M. P., is chairman, on considering the subject, unanimously passed a resolution in favor of physical exercises being compulsory in national schools, and made the following recommendations:

1. That any system of education in which mental training is excessive and bodily training neglected is injurious to the health, strength, usefulness, and happiness of the people, and dangerous to the welfare and safety of the nation.
2. That one half-hour a day, in the afternoon, and not too soon after a meal, should be devoted to bodily training.
3. That the bodily training of boys under eight years of age should consist of marching and free exercises, with or without music.
4. That the bodily training of boys over eight years of age, and under eleven, should consist of marching, running, light dumb-bell and wand exercises, with or without music.
5. That the bodily training of boys over eleven years of age should consist of marching, formation and drill exercises, running, dumb-bells, Indian clubs, horizontal and parallel bars, with or without music.
6. That boys and girls should be taught swimming where practicable.
7. That the bodily training of girls under eight years of age should consist of marching and free exercises, with or without music.
8. That the bodily training of girls above eight years of age should consist of marching, figure-marching, running, free exercises, light dumb-bells, wands, or light Indian clubs, with or without music.
9. That children considered by medical men too weak for bodily training should be exempted therefrom.

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10. That such bodily training should be compulsory in all national schools receiving government grants.

11. That the cost of gymnastic apparatus should be defrayed, one-half by the government, and the other half by rates in case of board schools, by subscriptions in the case of denominational schools.

12. That the exercises should take place in the open air in fine weather, or otherwise in schoolrooms, the desks and benches, which should not be fixed to the floor, being removed to the ends of the room.

13. That measurements of the circumference of the chest, arms, and legs, and of the height and weight of the body should be registered half-yearly.

14. That candidates for the office of a national schoolmaster or schoolmistress should be instructed in the training colleges to teach suitable physical exercises.

Although greatly hampered by want of legislative sanction, the London School Board has of late years done much to promote physical exercises. Owing to a grant by the Metropolitan Public-Gardens Association of £400, it was enabled in 1883 to obtain the services of a professional from Sweden to instruct its teachers in the Ling system. These in their turn have imparted instruction to their scholars, and now in most of the London schools Swedish drill without apparatus is taught to the girls, and military drill to the boys.

Until last year not a penny could be expended by a board school on physical exercises, and if it had not been for outside assistance London boys and girls could not have received the above most useful and necessary instruction. What is now wanted in England is some incentive to induce school boards less progressive and intelligent than that of London to look after the physical instruction of their scholars, and it is to be hoped that Parliament will pass some measure which will have this effect. School boards should be encouraged to do more than simply instruct their scholars in military drill. Military drill is by no means to be neglected. It is invaluable as a means of teaching prompt obedience and alertness of mind and body; but Dr. Brookes, of Much Wenlock, has clearly proved by a series of practical experiments that military drill cannot compare with gymnastics in the development of chest and limbs. If a school board cannot afford to purchase gymnastic apparatus, then it should cause both boys and girls to be instructed in Swedish drill, which is in a great measure independent of apparatus, and is scientifically calculated to strengthen in equal degree every muscle in the human body.

The following figures show the difference in the development

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of the human frame under a course of gymnastics combined with military drill, and under the latter only:

Statistics of the Drill and Gymnastic Training given to Twelve Boys in the Much Wenlock National School from August 21, 1871, to February 21, 1872.

DRILL AND GYMNASTICS.

Increase, after six months, in the circumference—

Boy.	Of chest.	Of upper arm.	Of forearm.
	Inches. Inches.		
1	From 27½ to 28¾ = 1¼ inch.....	¼ inch.	Nil.
2	" 28 " 29¾ = 1¾ "	½ "	¼ inch.
3	" 30 " 31¾ = 1¾ "	½ "	Nil.
4	" 27½ " 29 = 1½ "	½ "	Nil.
5	" 28¼ " 30¼ = 2 inches.....	½ "	Nil.
6	" 27½ " 30¼ = 2¾ "	¾ "	½ inch.

Average increase in circumference of chest = 1⅞ inches; *i. e.*, nearly 2 inches.
Exercises: Indian club, vaulting-horse, horizontal and parallel bars.

DRILL ALONE.

Increase, after six months, in the circumference—

Boy.	Of chest.	Of upper arm.	Of forearm.
	Inches. Inches.		
7	From 24½ to 24¾ = ¼ inch.....	¼ inch.	Nil.
8	" 27¼ " 27¾ = ½ "	¾ "	½ inch.
9	" 29½ " 30 = ½ "	¼ "	¼ "
10	" 26¼ " 26¾ = ½ "	¼ "	Nil.
11	" 25½ " 26 = ½ "	¼ "	¼ inch.
12	" 25¼ " 25¾ = ½ "	¼ "	Nil.

Average increase in circumference of chest = ¼¼ inch; *i.e.*, nearly ½ inch.

W. P. BROOKES, Trustee.
EDWARD STROUD, Schoolmaster.

Great Britain is almost the only great European state which does not insist upon its school authorities caring for the bodies as well as the brains of its children. In Germany, France, Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland physical instruction is compulsory in all schools. As long ago as 1804 Grossmuth, who deserves to be regarded as the first teacher of gymnastics in Germany, published his "Gymnastik für die Jugend" ("Gymnastics for the Young"), and in 1815 his "Turnbuch für Söhne des Vaterlands" ("Gymnastic Guide for the Sons of the Fatherland"). He was followed by Jahn and Eiselen. Grossmuth taught in the school. Jahn extended gymnastic instruction to the masses by means of organizations. But both insisted that the gymnastic instructor must be not a mere athlete, but an educator—a man capable of developing the spiritual and moral as well as the physical nature of his pupils. In 1816 he published his "Deutsche Turnkunst zur Einrichtung

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der Turnplätze" ("The German Art of Fitting up Gymnasia"). In 1840 A. Speiss introduced "free exercises" into the German system, and established at Darmstadt a school for the training of teachers, as he was strongly of the opinion that the schoolmaster and the gymnastic instructor should always be one and the same person. This is the system pursued at the present day in Germany, where every national schoolmaster has to pass an examination in the theory and practice of gymnastics before receiving his certificate.

Whilst Jahn was working in Germany, Ling was establishing in Sweden his system, which required in the teacher a thorough acquaintance with the anatomy of the human body and some physiological and psychological knowledge. Swedish drill requires little or no mechanical apparatus, and aims at the scientific and systematic development of all parts of the body. Rothstein, a follower of Jahn, exclaims: "Marvellous! A skilled horse-trainer is expected to possess some knowledge of animal anatomy, and to have studied the art of the veterinary surgeon, in order that he may be able to understand the cure of horses, and not hurt or weaken them in the training; and is the study of human anatomy and physiology not to be required of the teacher of gymnastics, who is intrusted with a much higher duty—the physical development and strengthening of men? Is there no necessity for him to be acquainted with the health-giving powers of gymnastics? to know how they are to be utilized, and how by a faulty system the human frame can be weakened and health destroyed?"

In the fulfilment of the above idea institutions were in 1853 established in Berlin and Dresden for the systematic training in gymnastics of schoolteachers. In both Prussia and Saxony before receiving his diploma, a school teacher has—

1. To write an essay on a set theme relating to the teaching of gymnastics.

2. To undergo a vivâ-voce examination in the theory of gymnastics:

   A. With reference to the art of teaching physical exercises.

   B. On anatomy, physiology, and dietetics.

3. To show his practical knowledge of the teaching of gymnastics:

   A. By personal performance.

   B. By instructing a class.

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In 1862 to 1869 similar regulations in regard to the training of gymnastic instructors came into force in Austria, Würtenberg, and Baden. Teachers visiting the training institutions stay one to six months, according to the extent of their previous knowledge of the subject. In addition to these establishments for the training of national teachers in physical exercises, the municipalities of Berlin and Leipsic have established similar schools in order to provide perfectly-fitted instructors for the numerous private gymnastic associations throughout Germany.

It is of more importance than is at first apparent that the gymnastic instructor and schoolteacher should be one and the same person :—

1. For reasons of economy, which should not be overlooked, as many districts would be unwilling or unable to pay the salary of an additional teacher.

2. For the sake of the teacher himself, who would be benefited by being obliged to devote a certain portion of each day to his own physical development.

3. For the sake of discipline, which could be much more easily maintained by the regular schoolmaster than by any outsider.

4. Because proficiency in physical exercises would enhance the respect of the scholars for their teacher.

5. Because there would be no danger of divided authority, or of one-sidedness on the part of schoolteacher or gymnastic instructor.

For all these reasons it is to be hoped that our English training colleges for teachers will introduce gymnastics and Swedish drill into the curriculum of these institutions, and that school boards, in making new appointments, will nominate only teachers, both male and female, who have passed an examination, suitable to sex, in the theory and practice of physical exercises.

The gymnastic instruction given to children in German schools is limited to two hours a week. If these two hours a week during school life represented all that was done in Germany for physical development, the race of men in that country would not be as fine as it is ; but it must not be forgotten that the three years' military training of every German youth constitutes a school in which during the whole of that period the training of the human body occupies a very prominent position.

As there is no compulsory military service in Great Britain,

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we must not be satisfied with two hours a week, which would be quite inadequate, but must endeaver to get at least an hour a day set apart for physical instruction in our national schools—if possible, divided into two half-hours, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. When we consider the number of hours a day which it is thought necessary that British public-school boys of the richer classes should spend in playing athletic games in the open air, it cannot be said to be excessive if we ask that poor city children, who have little or no means of exercising their limbs in this healthy fashion, shall have physical exercise for an hour a day under the direction of skilled instructors. If this be necessary for British city-bred children, the experience gained in three visits to America, during which I visited many of the largest towns of the Union, would lead me to believe that it is even more needed there than in my own country. The British climate is better suited than the American for the taking of physical exercise all the year round. It is never too hot and never too cold, whereas there are few parts of the States where during some portion of the year it is not uncomfortable, if not actually dangerous, to take violent exercise in the open air.

The result is that, whereas in England every available field in the neighborhood of our large cities is snatched up for football or cricket, and thousands of clerks, factory hands, and young artisans, especially in the northern towns, struggle of a Saturday afternoon for room in which to play these invigorating national games, in America athletics are in a great measure confined to the universities, the schools, the richer classes, and the professionals. Although physical instruction is not yet compulsory in British national schools, almost all of them possess small playgrounds, often fitted up with gymnastic apparatus. In America I was informed that in the large cities schools thus provided were the exception rather than the rule. The numerous American parks which I visited during the autumn (the finest portion of the year in which to take active exercises) were, with the exception of Central Park, New York, comparatively deserted. The explanation given was that the summer was over, and that the people were hourly expecting the advent of winter. I suspect that another reason is to be found in the distance at which most American parks are situated from the crowded parts of the city.

Whilst staying in Boston in 1869 I had the honor of receiving

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an invitation to be present and speak at a conference on physical education. On this occasion the different European systems were thoroughly considered and discussed, and a very general opinion was expressed that Americans would do well to introduce some kind of physical instruction into the schools attended by the poorer children of the large cities. It should never be forgotten that the brain and nerves are material substances largely dependent for their proper action on the health of the body.

The future destinies of the world will probably lie, in a great measure, in the hands of the sons and daughters of Anglo-Saxon blood.

Let it not be said that through our neglect any of these children of the future, by reason of physical deterioration, were made incapable of the highest thought and action.

MEATH.

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THE LAW AND THE LYNCHERS.

BY GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS.

The first question submitted to me by the editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW is in the following words:

"Suppose that the State of Louisiana were to pass a law banishing all Italians from her territory after thirty days; what remedy would the United States government have, if any? and how would the United States government then be able to maintain its treaty obligations with Italy?"

No State in this Union can banish from its territory any foreigners who are residents or travellers therein, and whom the government of the United States has permitted to come into the country, whether there is or is not a subsisting treaty between the United States and the nation to which such foreigners belong, guaranteeing protection to the citizens or subjects of each country in the dominions of the other. The law of nations is a part of the law of every civilized country, and it obliges every civilized government to protect the persons and property of foreigners who are within its limits. Such foreigners pay all taxes that are levied on them, and are bound to obey the laws. Owing a qualified and temporary allegiance to the country in which they are, they are entitled to its protection. Many governments have compelled semi-civilized or barbarian nations to atone for wrongs and injuries done to their subjects or citizens.* If such a bill as

*Grotius mentions a Scythian tribe, the Taurians, who sacrificed strangers to Diana. He maintains that all other nations had a right to unite together to chastise them. General Jackson, when President, sent a naval force, which summarily demolished a whole town of similar barbarians who had treated some of our countrymen in the same manner. These barbarians had a regular government; but I believe it was never ascertained that the murder of the "Friendship's" crew was an act of that government; it was done by a handful of irresponsible savages—what in a civilized country is called a mob. But the walls of Quallah Battoo had to fall for it, notwithstanding.

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is suggested were to be introduced into the Legislature of Louisiana, it would be the duty of the government of the United States to remontrate against it, and prevent its passage if possible. If it were to be passed, it would be the duty of our national government to cause it to be judicially declared to be unconstitutional, by taking up and prosecuting the case of one or more of the foreigners banished from the State. Such a State law could never be enforced.

I will now answer the remainder of the inquiries by stating the substance of the positions taken in Mr. Blaine's letter of April 14 to the Marquis Imperiali, and will give the reasons why I consider Mr. Blaine's positions as entirely sound. His letter is one of the ablest and clearest despatches I have ever read. It is eminently creditable to our diplomacy and to Mr. Blaine himself. He holds first that the State of Louisiana is bound to punish the individual rioters who murdered the Italian subjects in New Orleans, and that the United States cannot punish them criminally. Murder, whether of a foreigner or of a citizen, committed on the soil of a State, and not within the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction of the United States, is a crime cognizable only in the courts of the State. I know of no way in which an indictment for this murder of Italian subjects committed in New Orleans could be framed in the name of the United States and made cognizable in a Federal court.

The editor observes that "Mr. Blaine has committed himself to the view that the Federal government can do nothing toward punishing the New Orleans mob leaders, though Mr. William Henry Hurlbert insists that article 3 of the constitution makes it possible for the Federal government to try such offenders in a Federal or United States court." I agree with Mr. Blaine, and I differ from Mr. Hurlbert. Under article 3 of the constitution the judicial power of the United States does not extend, and, in my opinion, cannot be made by Congress to extend, to the cases of the individuals who killed the Italians. It is true that the judicial power extends to all cases in law and equity arising under the constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made or which shall be made under their authority. "Cases arising under treaties" are those in which some party other than the United States has a controversy with another party, capable of judicial determination,

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and requiring for its adjudication an interpretation of a treaty. Cases arising in the execution of a treaty between the United States and a foreign nation are not within the judicial power, for the reason that they are cognizable only in the department of our government which holds and exercises the treaty-making power. Italy now has a controversy with the United States, which is whether some of the subjects of Italy have had in this country the protection which the treaty guaranteed to them. This is a controversy between nation and nation. It is cognizable only in the diplomatic department of our government. The difficulty with legislation which should now undertake to make this offence cognizable in the judicial department of the Federal government would be twofold: first, as to these past cases it would be an *ex-post-facto* law; secondly, as to future cases there would be no basis for the jurisdiction.

The United States have no common law. Crimes against the United States which can be made cognizable in a Federal court are such offences as have been made crimes or misdemeanors by some Federal statute. In the case supposed the indictment would charge that an offence had been committed against the United States by citizens of New Orleans, whereas there is no law of the United States which has made it an offence against the United States to kill a foreigner who is under the protection of a treaty. The power of Congress to pass a law for the special protection of United States officers when in the discharge of their duty—which was suggested by the attack made by Terry on Mr. Justice Field in California—is a very different matter. The treaty with Italy itself determines what protection is under it. It casts on every State in the Union the duty of so administering its laws as to punish individuals who on the soil of the State injure Italian subjects in their persons or property. It casts on the United States the duty of indemnifying the families of the murdered persons for the loss of their lives. Mr. Blaine has, in my opinion, clearly defined the obligations which the treaty did or did not impose on the government of the United States. He says:

"The United States did not by the treaty with Italy become the insurer of the lives or property of Italian subjects resident within our territory. No government is able, however high its civilization, however vigilant its police supervision, however severe its criminal code, and however prompt and inflexible its criminal administration, to secure its own citizens against violence promoted by individual malice or by sudden popular tumult. The for-

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eign resident must be content in such cases to share the same redress that is offered by the law to the citizen, and has no just cause of complaint or right to ask the interposition of his country if the courts are equally open to him for the redress of his injuries.

"The treaty, in the first, second, third, and notably in the twenty-third, articles, clearly limits the rights guaranteed to the citizens of the contracting powers in the territory of each to equal treatment and to free access to the courts of justice. Foreign residents are not made a favored class. It is not believed that Italy would desire a more stringent construction of her duty under the treaty. Where the injury inflicted upon a foreign resident is not the act of the government or of its officers, but of an individual or of a mob, it is believed that no claim for indemnity can justly be made unless it shall be made to appear that the public authorities charged with the peace of the community have connived at the unlawful act, or, having timely notice of the threatened danger, have been guilty of such gross negligence in taking the necessary precautions as to amount to connivance."

I have carefully examined the texts of the treaty to which Mr. Blaine refers, and I have no doubt about the rule by which they ought to be interpreted. They should be interpreted with reference to the general principles of the law of nations, with reference to other treaties of the like kind which we have with other nations, and with reference to our complex form of government. What the general principles of international law on this subject are I have already stated. We have many similar treaties with other nations besides Italy, and some of them have subsisted for a long time. They are all framed in accordance with the general principles of public law, and they are evidence of what the public law is on this subject.

Now, in regard to the peculiarities of our form of government, the editor observes in his note to me that "foreign nations are inquiring with serious curiosity whether our internal relations between State and Federal powers are really such that we cannot be sure of carrying out our treaties, and no one has yet given any satisfactory pronouncement." While foreign governments are not expected to know all the niceties of our constitutional law, they are bound to know that our Federal government is one of limited powers, which are carefully defined by a written constitution.

Foreign governments were informed in the most impressive manner half a century ago by Mr. Webster, Secretary of State, that, when a State of this Union has jurisdiction over a crime committed within its limits, the government of the United States must await the action of the State authorities. In 1841 one

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Alexander McLeod, a Canadian, was indicted in the State of New York for the murder of a citizen of New York, and he was held for trial. The act of McLeod was avowed by the British government to have been done by its authority as an act in defence of Canadian territory, and his surrender was demanded of the government of the United States. Instead of yielding to this demand, Mr. Webster informed the British government that, while the government of the United States admitted that the avowal of his act as done by the authority of the British government would be a good defence on the trial of the indictment, yet the United States could not prevent such a trial. He took steps, however, to furnish McLeod with proof that his act was avowed and adopted by the British government, and he sent the Attorney-General of the United States to the place of trial to watch the proceedings and to make suggestions to the counsel for McLeod. He also, by permission of the President, sent an officer of the army to the place of trial with a file of picked men in citizens' dress, with secret instructions, in case of McLeod's conviction, to take him out of the hands of the sheriff and transport him to Canada.*

Mr. Blaine is a worthy successor of the great man who was Secretary of State in 1841, and I have entire confidence in his management of our foreign relations. There is no danger whatever of a war between Italy and the United States growing out of this affair. Italy cannot demand that the United States government shall take the punishment of the murderers out of the hands of the State authorities; and Mr. Blaine has defined with entire precision all that the United States can or ought to do. He has declared that, if it shall appear that the local authorities connived at the doings of the mob, the President will ask Congress for an appropriation of money to indemnify the families of the murdered Italians for the loss of their lives. With this Italy must be content.

GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS.

* This last circumstance was not publicly known at the time, but it is a fact. I was informed of it by Mr. Webster years afterwards, and I was acquainted with the army officer who was intrusted with this delicate duty. The whole case and all its circumstances are described in the second volume of my life of Mr. Webster.

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A TRIP ABROAD.

BY PHINEAS T. BARNUM.

I HAVE been asked to describe the impressions formed during my recent visit to Europe. I do not pretend to possess the subtlety of our great author, Hawthorne, or the balanced wisdom of Emerson, as shown in his incomparable book, "English Traits." But perhaps my mind, moulded to business and saturated with worldly affairs, will reflect a light which, if commonplace in comparison with theirs, may not be entirely devoid of interest.

If I liked London and the English people before, I had during my last visit a chance that was unparalleled to test and like them still more. I doubt if I am an exception among Americans in saying that the English, with all their differences from Americans, with all their slow conservatism, and, no doubt, certain insular prejudices, are a more interesting people than those of any other nation in the world. They have some ideas that seem curiously absurd to us; they do certain things because they always did do them and can't conceive of any better way to accomplish the results aimed at.

But they have a strong and positive character; perhaps all the stronger on account of their tenacity to old customs. They stand up for their rights as we Americans do not. If anything goes wrong, they struggle and contest points until justice is done and wrong is righted. And in saying that, after all, their best traits are more closely allied to ours than those of any other people, it is what I should have said years ago, and long before I married an English wife.

There is something interesting, too, if it is occasionally ridiculous, in their subservience to ancient manners and laws. They will not let you marry your deceased wife's sister yet, nor anybody's sister after 12 o'clock noon; but if you have had the

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privilege of crossing certain estates by a turnstile, or in any way, for a long period,—no matter what great lord owns the estate,—you can keep on doing it, and nobody can stop you. Justice and right, as they understand these things, are with them irrepealable. This idea, however, sometimes brings them into a strange attitude toward certain questions. The long debate in the House of Lords not long since on the chasing of hares over farms covered with growing crops, promiscuously and without respect to the crop-owner's rights, is rather an anomaly. It is wonderful to an American, who only expects his Congress to quarrel over something as important as the tariff, to see this minor question so arouse and convulse a great and intelligent nation.

So small a matter as a game law is settled here often, at least in part, by the supervisor of a township in certain States; or in the last resort, by a State legislature. In England the subject touches the immemorial rights of the aristocratic class, and is, apparently, as serious a thing to them as the partition of Poland was to the civilized world when it took place. Therefore it commands the most serious attention of what is, perhaps, the most august legislative body in the world.

I told a writer for *Murray's Magazine*, who asked me my opinion of London, that I knew London pretty well before he was born. During my stay there in 1844 I availed myself of my editorial faculty, then freshened by practice, to send a considerable series of letters about the city to a New York journal. It was a great and wonderful city nearly half a century ago. But it is a marvel now. Another such hive of human beings does not certainly exist on the earth. I believe it is admitted that the estimated populations of the great oriental cities—never accurately ascertained by any intelligent census—have always been greatly exaggerated. I am sure, at any rate, that London is easily the greatest city that is or ever was.

In my correspondence from there written so long ago and referred to above, I described what I found—the heart of English hospitality. And I had its favor repeated for me over and over again.

One of the most durable and constant impressions that I have got from London, and from England too, is the solidity of everything there. The English people do not believe in shams or sham work. Their docks and public monuments, and all their public

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works, express a sense of permanence. They are built, apparently, to hold the planet down, and to stay. If it is a seat in the park or a watering-trough you are noticing, it is no less thoroughly made than the Thames Embankment. Indeed, the trough and the seat will be found hewed out of solid stone. I said, many years ago, when I was abroad, that Paris makes a thing to last for a day, America makes it to last a week, but England makes it to last forever. They have good roads,—far better than ours,—but they do not take to light road wagons like ours. The frames of some of their vehicles are as heavy as, if not heavier than, the balloon frames we put in our houses.

And how ashamed it makes one of New York to see, as one does in London, the smooth and well-paved streets, and carriages going over them equipped with rubber tires to deaden the noise! Asphalt is now the common pavement, and the one most preferred, although certain streets are macadamized in a fine and thorough way. The asphalt pavement becomes so smooth that the horses, when they go down a hill over which it lies, do not lift up their feet, but slide—almost skate—down the inclination. Their intelligence has taught them that this is the easiest and most practicable way. On the other hand, horses that have never been away from a prairie, or extremely level country, do not learn the use of the breeching on a harness, and go down hill, if they are ever removed to a country of different topography, without attempting to hold back, and without knowing how.

The business day in London with business men is extremely brief. From 10 to 4 it lasts; and in the commercial exchanges perhaps it is even briefer. But it must not be supposed that business men are inefficient there. On the contrary, their methods and system are so arranged with reference to doing things without delay or long talking that they accomplish a marvellous amount. They do not dicker like the Yankee or the Hebrew. They almost invariably stick to one price, and make that plainly apparent to whoever inspects their goods. If they give a discount, it is usually a regular one offered for cash or subject to amount of sales. They expect you to trade if you make them unlimited trouble; for they feel that they are prepared to give you no reasonable excuse for refusing to do so.

Another business trait with the London shopman is that he

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shuts off business conversation with the shutting-up of his shop. Outside of that you may meet him on any occasion and not know or be able to guess what his business is.

The Englishman is a notable diner-out. He can eat more dinners than Chauncey Depew goes to, to make false motions over, and partake of something of all of them. He goes to several on a single night. He has a eupepsy that is marvellous and ostrich-like. It makes no difference to what class or order he belongs,—he is a regular diner-out. He is often engaged for a week or ten days ahead, so that if you wish to give a dinner in England, you must make all arrangement for your invitations a long way in advance.

Getting up late is the English rule. It was said that Dr. Johnson never saw the sun rise, and that the poet Thomson spent a good part of the day in bed. But with some abatement of these perhaps extreme cases, the statements are very deceptive. I actually knew a wealthy Englishman many years ago—a Londoner—who told me he never got up until 5 P. M. All his activities occurred from that hour to far on in the morning,—so far that perhaps he *did*—what it was said Dr. Johnson did *not* do—occasionally see the sun rise.

I was invited to more dinners in London on this last visit than all the space in a magazine would enable me to describe. The actor Irving is a somewhat famous dinner-giver, and he attracts about his mahogany any number of literary men, artists, and other notabilities. He dines and gives his dinners at a quarter past eleven at the Beefsteak Club, which is next door to his own theatre. The Lord Mayor, with his huge golden chain, the symbol of his authority, is often to be seen among Irving's guests. When Irving asked me to dine with him, I told him his hour was altogether too late for my habits or my health. "Oh," said he, "you can leave as early as two, though the rest of us will remain until after four."

A dinner in England must be served with wines or it would not be a dinner. Smoking is, of course, a sequel. As I did not attempt to impose my different habits upon those who were about me, I simply adhered to them and looked on without moralizing in a way that would be impolite, ineffective, and unsuitable. I once met a prominent English bishop who was a teetotaler, like myself, and he said that, although he did not drink wines and

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intended to abstain from them, he always provided them at his own table for those who did not abstain.

One of my pleasantest experiences in England was in meeting the daughter and husband of Jenny Lind. I dined with Mr. Goldschmidt, and we had many old and tender recollections to interchange. He has a house in London and a country house, and his daughter, Mrs. Maude, has a country house near by his own. Mrs. Maude's husband holds some government office. She herself reminded me somewhat of her mother, whose vocal power has to some extent been inherited by her. Jenny Lind's only other child is an officer in the army.

I want to say here, as a matter of interest and justice, that Mr. Goldschmidt is a most delightful and worthy man. There was a period, many years since, when a number of baseless and cruel stories about him were circulated through the foreign press, and they were carefully copied and widely disseminated in our own country. He did himself the justice to show their falseness in a court of law, and to fully vindicate himself. Indeed, it was proved that, instead of squandering his wife's money, as was alleged, it was doubled in amount in his hands. Everything else that was said unfavorably of him was also utterly without foundation.

Jenny Lind died very rich, being a millionaire. But it is not generally known, I suppose, that every dollar of her American earnings was bequeathed to educational institutions or benevolent foundations in Sweden, the city of Stockholm getting the lion's share. She was, in fact, the soul of benevolence, and possibly was a little too easily touched by human sympathy, for she was always giving and could not resist benevolent acts. Even good-hearted people need to use a wise discretion in giving, or must risk being imposed upon sometimes. I always called her angelic, in thinking of her boundless sympathy and her good deeds.

The English people, though so much like us and so much unlike us,—and for that reason,—deserve and will repay much study. I think I can see plainly enough that America within recent years has become a specially interesting country to them. They have not yet fully learned our geography; but since the close of our Civil War we have gained immensely in their recognition and respect. They never tire of asking questions about us. Many of our ways they take kindly to and are in-

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clined to adopt. It has been hard for them to perceive the point of an American joke, and when you are telling them a series of stories, they often do not see the point of one until it is dismissed and the next one is well under way. But this is not true of all of them. I found not a few who were as quick to see the pith of a narrative in our broad style as an American audience would be. And when they do see it, their enjoyment is unbounded and heartily expressed.

It may be said, to be sure, that Americans do not always notice the hilariousness of the English witty paper. The notable London *Punch* seems to many of our countrymen slow; and yet it is full of ability and keenness. Wit and humor have, of course, national forms and variations. But *Punch* has no small foreign and American circulation, and such celebrated English humorists as Thomas Hood and Douglas Jerrold are instantly understood wherever our common language is spoken.

In travelling on the highway, the English have, as is well known, an opposite way from ours of turning out where two vehicles meet. And I think it is much more rational than ours. The driver there turns to the left when he passes you, as you must do in driving past him. This gives the two drivers a much better chance of avoiding accidents, for they can each see the exact situation and the distance between the vehicles. I said one day to the driver of a cab: "I see you always turn to the left." "Yes," said he, "but those fools over in France turn to the right." "Well," said I, "we Americans are just the same kind of fools."

Free as the government of England is in all essential particulars, it does not in some respects carry freedom to recklessness in the way we often do here. Its laws and regulations for public safety are more strict than ours. The English make human life and its preservation a more serious and constant concern than we do. In a public hall the seats must not be too closely packed, and the aisles and modes of egress must be numerous and broad. In a thousand ways, in fact, England takes pains that one man's liberty shall not make another man's, or the public's, safety and comfort suffer from his caprice or greed. It is a feature that we ought to admire, and that we must learn to copy before our population becomes as dense as that of the British Islands.

I had a pleasant experience when I lectured in Lord Aber-

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deen's Indian saloon, in his Grosvenor Square palace. A full audience came, at half a guinea a head, simply—so far as my part went—to hear me tell stories. These were drawn from an unlimited repertory which I have, and they are all of the Yankee stamp. Lord Aberdeen was industriously active and persistent in looking after the entertainment, which was given for the benefit of the Irish Home Charities, for which good cause it netted £70—in our currency $350.

I have often indulged myself in telling stories, and have been led to believe that it is a form of communicating with the public that suits my faculties and temperament. To me cheerfulness is a gospel as much as it was to Mark Tapley, and I like to cultivate it in times of disaster, as well as in the days of prosperity. However it may be, I seemed to be able to interest the English in stories that were not of their home-made pattern, until I was called upon everywhere in public and private to relate some of my anecdotes. The more preposterous they were the better they were enjoyed.

So far my talk has omitted the country in England, and has been devoted mainly to intercourse had in London. On this last visit of mine I went into the country but a little distance and only a few times, as the winter season, as well as my business, detained me in town. But the English country is the place for a charming sojourn at the proper time of year. When everything is green and growing, no country is more beautiful or attractive than England. Man covers it so closely that it is all kept as cultured and humanized as a garden. The rains keep it moist, and extensive and persistent treatment with the plow, scythe, and hoe make it a paradise to look upon. In Cobbett's "Rural Rides"—perhaps not a book much read now—and in the notes of all travellers, the features I have merely hinted at are emphasized with picturesque details. It is, of course, pleasant to be out of doors there in all suitable weather, and it is truly said that even the rain does not stop English pedestrianism.

When an English man or an English woman wishes to take a walk,—and both walk more and further than Americans,—he or she takes it "*weather*" *or no.* It is true, the good roads invite walking as ours do not, but the climate and the attractions of their landscape seem to prompt this exercise, too.

I was struck particularly with the strong, solid step of the

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women everywhere. They walk, even in London, with a firm tread, so well put down that it is noticeable. And they are healthy-looking to an extent that we cannot match in any of our women in America. So rosy and rubicund are the faces of the country women who come into London from their homes that you would make an affidavit almost, if you did not know to the contrary, that they are painted. And they are marvellously well developed in form. There is a beauty in this superb health that is matchless in itself, even where chiselled charms and perfect outline in feature are wanting.

Large families, and a majority of them girls, are everywhere common. To meet a family of fifteen children, nine of them girls, is not at all the event there that it would be here. But the English girl is not a constituted member of the social circle until she gets quite old. Even then she lacks the vivacity and knowingness of the American girl. It seemed to me that all the girls I saw of twenty-one and under were kept in the tutelage and background which we apply to the girls in smallest pinafores here. They are all silent and subdued. They even dress to some extent like little girls, and display no knowledge beyond that to be acquired in the nursery, even if they are not as simple as they seem.

But the English woman and girl are not butterflies of idleness, or of mere fashion and society. They are always doing something, and doing something that is practical. And yet what the nation is going to do with them all I cannot imagine. The father of eleven asked me if there was not a wide opportunity for their activities here. If they should come, they would make welcome immigrants, surely, and I am sure those accustomed to the better conditions in life would make excellent wives, as domesticity and the homely virtues are the product of their training.

Do you ask me if I like England? It ought not to be a difficult matter for the reader who has followed me so far in this sketch to guess. I can still appreciate without diminution of sentiment the glory of "Hail, Columbia!"; but I have reason to feel also a close sympathy with the spirit that sings "God Save the Queen!"

P. T. BARNUM.

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ANOTHER VIEW OF GETTYSBURG.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN GIBBON.

IT IS said of General Taylor that he, on one occasion, after listening to several stories told of the battle of Buena Vista, remarked that he sometimes wondered whether he himself was present at that battle, so marked was the contrast between what he *heard* of it and what he had seen and heard at the battle.

I have been much interested in reading the several contributions in the March number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW on the battle of Gettysburg, and fear that Meade, could he read them, might be reminded of General Taylor's remark. He would certainly be reminded of the fact that fighting a battle is one thing, and fighting it afterwards on paper by the participants is a very different thing.

I once sat for several hours a day, for some days, in the studio of an artist whilst he was painting a picture of the battle of Gettysburg, chatting with him as he painted, and telling him what I knew of the battle, and referring him to others who could tell him more of the particular phase of the battle which he had chosen as the scene to be painted. In the course of these talks it came out that all the statements the artist had received did not agree, and in some of them the facts were so glaringly perverted, with the selfish object of exaggerating the services of particular individuals and commands, that I made the remark that the artist, in his endeavors to get at the truth, so as to present a faithful picture of the battle, must, from the varying statements made to him by the different participants, have formed a very poor idea in regard to the character of military men, their spirit of fairness, their little petty jealousies, and their ambitions. To my surprise he said "No"; on the contrary, he was generally impressed with their spirit of fairness and desire to give what they thought

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to be facts. If this was the conclusion of an impartial investigator, who desired simply to get at the facts for the purpose of representing them on canvas, it is to be hoped that an impartial public will look at the subject in the same way when the narrators confine themselves to *facts* viewed as they received them.

When, however, they drop the statements of facts, and resort to speculation as to what might, could, would, or should have taken place, if all the facts now known had been as clearly known at the time, or if the conditions had been different from what they were, it is possible that an impartial public may not be as charitable as the artist.

The efforts to belittle General Meade's services in the battle of Gettysburg have been persistent, and are shown in a very marked manner in some of these papers. His best friends do not claim for General Meade any very remarkable manœuvres on the field of battle itself, but they do claim that he varied his plan of campaign to suit the circumstances of the case; that three days after taking command of the army he concentrated his force at Gettysburg, placed it in position, and fought the battle to a successful issue under some considerable disadvantages.

There are those who will be disposed to question the assertion that "Hooker had no superior in manœuvring a large army"; and the campaign of Chancellorsville is generally regarded amongst military men as anything but a monument of "his strategical skill." How Gettysburg can be regarded as another monument of Hooker's strategical skill, it is difficult to understand. Even if he had, with the foresight of a prophet, designated Gettysburg as the scene of the coming conflict, he does not stand alone in that prediction; and certainly he had nothing whatever to do with placing the army there: Meade had, and not only placed it there, but *kept* it there. Meade's manœuvre of his army before the battle cannot be belittled by the introduction of Hooker's name in a resolution of Congress, or in a narrative, any more than can his services during the battle be underrated by claiming all the meritorious parts of it for subordinates.

Whether "accident overruled the plans of Meade" and did drift him towards "a *better battlefield* than he had himself chosen," is a proposition which can never be established, since the battlefield once proposed by Meade was never fought on, and the battlefield of Gettysburg was. Once decided to give up his

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proposed battle-ground and accept that of Gettysburg, at the recommendation of one in whose military judgment he placed great confidence, and who had been sent to the front to decide that very question, Meade lost no time in concentrating his army there. "And so swift was the concentration of his forces, *under the direction of the chief of staff*, that on the morning of the 2d of July his army was in position," etc. Under whose direction would he naturally make it but that of his chief of staff or his adjutant-general? Both are sometimes used; sometimes other officers; and sometimes the commanding general of an army does it verbally. As a commander at the time of one of the component parts of that army (the Second Corps), I can testify that the order to move to Gettysburg was received from General Meade's own lips before the receipt of Hancock's report from the front, and it was repeated in *the same way* at my camp after midnight as General Meade rode that night towards the field of Gettysburg.

The chief of staff, therefore, cannot claim all the merit for this "swift concentration." The same chief of staff acted for Hooker when he was building the "monument of his strategical skill" at Chancellorsville. It might be pertinent to ask, Was the chief of staff entitled to the credit of the "strategical skill" in that case? and did the chief of staff, or General Hooker, display "strategical skill" when, two columns of our troops having emerged from the Wilderness and pushing on towards Fredericksburg, without any enemy in sight, they were ordered back to that tangled Wilderness which proved so disastrous to our arms?

The question in regard to the movements of the Third Corps at Gettysburg is revived in these papers. Whatever can be said in favor of the forward movement of that corps on the 2d of July, the facts remain that it was placed in a position to which it was *not ordered* by General Meade; that it was attacked in that position by the enemy and, in spite of the reënforcements sent to it, forced back with heavy loss to the position General Meade originally designed it to occupy—one of the positions which General Newton refers to as those into which we were *hammered*, and out of which the enemy could not and did not whip us. That the corps and the troops with it did good fighting no one can ever justly deny. Whether it can be said of those operations that *victory* remained with us, depends a good deal upon what we mean by "victory." It is not usual to claim victory for the troops who

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are driven from the ground, leaving their dead and wounded behind; otherwise the First and the Eleventh Corps might claim a *victory* after their hard fight against superior forces on the 1st of July. If by "victory remaining with us" is meant that the Army of the Potomac maintained possession of its main line of battle, the statement is correct; but of that fact the commander of the Third Corps was not aware at the time he was carried from the field; and towards the maintenance of that main line General Meade himself contributed by leading forward in person reënforcements to the threatened line after the disaster to the Third Corps.

General Sickles says "that as soon as our troops on the left [the Third Corps and its supports] equalled those of the enemy the battle was decided in our favor." How decided in our favor? By those troops being driven from the advanced position they occupied? "If," he continues, "this equality had existed at the outset of the conflict, our victory would have been decisive early in the action, and the Sixth Corps," etc.; "and if Buford's division of cavalry had remained on the left flank," etc. All of which *sounds* very much like saying *if* the writer had been in command, instead of General Meade, results would have been more satisfactory. This is another one of those questions which can *never* be decided, and even the future historian will probably ignore it and describe the features of the battle with Meade in command, and state the circumstances as they *actually existed*; mindful of the fact that Gettysburg is not the only great battle in the history of the world, nor even in the history of our own country, with regard to which attempts have been made to underrate the services of the commander and overrate those of some subordinate.*

I do not understand what General Sickles means by saying "at the close of the battle of the 2d, after the enemy retired, the disposition of our forces remained as already described," for certainly no description in his article preceding that remark can apply to any portion of *his command*. He says: "We pass over the council of war on the night of the 2d without comment, since it had *no result*." This is a somewhat remarkable statement, since General Meade's enemies have openly and persistently asserted that he wanted to retreat; in fact, had given orders to retreat, and would have retreated but for the "result" of that council. The

* One of our greatest commanders once characterized this sort of thing as "the pruriency of fame not earned."

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statement made by General Sickles, who was not present at the council, is not at all in accord with that of General Newton, who was. General Newton says: "The council unanimously voted to fight it out on the position we held." Surely this cannot be called "no result."

General Newton, in commenting on the council, says: "All agreed, so far as I remember, that the position in itself was a good one, but I suggested the possibility of an attempt to turn our left," etc. This recollection agrees substantially with my own, and General Newton was the only one in the council whom I heard make any objection to the position. That he did make some objection is made all the more distinct in my memory from the fact that he was the only *engineer* officer in the council (Warren being asleep on the floor). His objection, therefore, came with especial force, and for a little while conversation on that point between General Newton and myself occupied the attention of the members. The objection to the position that it could be turned on the left was made by General Hancock in his first report sent from the front to General Meade on the 1st of July, and was, I presume, the cause of Hancock sending me orders to halt the Second Corps short of the battlefield that night, from which place General Meade soon after midnight ordered me forward, as before stated. There could, at that time, have been no doubt in General Meade's mind about Gettysburg being a place in which to fight a battle.

So much stress has been laid upon the unanimity with which those present at this October meeting agreed in attributing to General Meade a certain form of expression that it will not be out of place to put side by side the names of the corp commanders who were present at the council of war on July 2d and the names of those present twenty-seven years after, who determined, with so much unanimity, that General Meade was held to the battlefield only by the votes of his subordinates.

Those who voted on the several questions submitted to council.	Those present at the Gettysburg meeting in 1890.
1. SEDGWICK.	
2. SLOCUM.	1. SLOCUM.
3. HOWARD.	2. HOWARD.
4. HANCOCK.	
5. SYKES.	
6. NEWTON.	3. NEWTON.
7. BIRNEY.	
8. WILLIAMS.	
9. GIBBON.	

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Even were the three present "in entire accord" regarding General Meade's assertion, two of the number must have changed their opinions on the subject since they first expressed themselves.*

But in any event it will be the province of the future historian to weigh in the balance the testimony of three members given twenty-seven years after the battle with that of seven out of the nine officers comprising the council of war placed on record soon after the battle. From the balance must necessarily be excluded the testimony of two present at the meeting in October, 1890, since they were not present at General Meade's council. The other officer (General Butterfield) present at the council and at the meeting twenty-seven years afterwards, it has been publicly asserted, was the one who, as General Meade's chief of staff, wrote out the order for the army to retreat from Gettysburg, and it was stated in the newspapers soon after the battle that a corps commander had this order in his pocket when he ordered an advance of his corps. It was intimated also that he ordered the corps forward for the very purpose of bringing on a fight, and *preventing a retreat.* This allusion was, of course, to General Sickles and the Third Corps. What truth there was in the newspaper reports I have no means of knowing. It is, however, a remarkable fact that no copy of that order has ever been produced, not even the copy alluded to in the newspaper reports, and that General Meade always declared that he never directed any such order to be made out; and all the world knows that no such order was executed, nor any attempt made to execute it.

Our army commanders during the Civil War are, of course, now that the war is over, proper subjects for fair criticism, though theories and speculations regarding what might have happened, had the circumstances been different, are, as a general thing, idle. Of course, had Hooker remained in command, the Army of the Potomac might have defeated Lee quite as well as, possibly better than, it did under Meade; but the feeling in the army was generally one of apprehension that a commander who had, not two months before, been badly outgeneralled with nearly three times

* General Newton, in a letter dated March 10, 1864, says: "I was frequently with the commanding general on that day [2d], and was likewise present at the council, and nothing that I heard him say has ever given me the impression that he insisted on the withdrawal of the army from before Gettysburg." General Howard, in a letter dated June 9, 1883, says: "I did not hear your father [General Meade] utter a word which made me think that he then favored a withdrawal of his troops."

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the force that Lee had at his disposal, might, in the open country of Pennsylvania, be outgeneralled again.

In this the army *might* have been proved mistaken, but a lack of confidence in the ability of its leader is a very heavy handicapping on the eve of a great battle, and in this respect Meade, although comparatively unknown, had a great advantage—an advantage increased very considerably by the results of the battle of Gettysburg.

It is not unusual in war to criticise army commanders for not taking full advantage of their successes in great battles, and in the Civil War it was a very common mode of criticism on both sides. At the very start General Joseph E. Johnston was blamed in some quarters for not pursuing our army of fugitives from the field of Bull Run, and taking possession of the capital, with an army of green volunteers, never in battle before, and scarcely able to move itself, to say nothing of its supplies.

The following year there were not lacking critics who commented on the fact that Lee failed to adopt Stonewall Jackson's suggestion to attack Burnside's army at Fredericksburg, after its repulse, and drive it into the river. Loud complaints were made against McClellan for not driving Lee's army into the Potomac after the battle of Antietam; and so on.

So that it appears to be expecting too much of human nature that the critics should abstain from complaints that Meade failed to follow up his victory by capturing Lee's army, either by hurling against it, after the repulse of Pickett's charge, the whole of the Twelfth Corps from the extreme right of our line, supported in "the pursuit" by a division of the Sixth Corps, or afterwards by attacking Lee's army in its intrenched position at Falling Waters, even against the earnest advice of most of his prominent generals.

I am decidedly of the opinion that, if Meade had had at his disposal a division of cavalry to hurl against Lee's centre on the repulse of Pickett's charge, or, more properly speaking, the void left in that centre when the charge was repulsed, Lee's army might have been irretrievably cut in two; but Meade's cavalry divisions had their hands full on the rear and flanks of our army in protecting those from "the force sent to our rear," or rather *proposed* to be sent to our rear, for it never got there, not so much because Sickles's position on the second day had prevented

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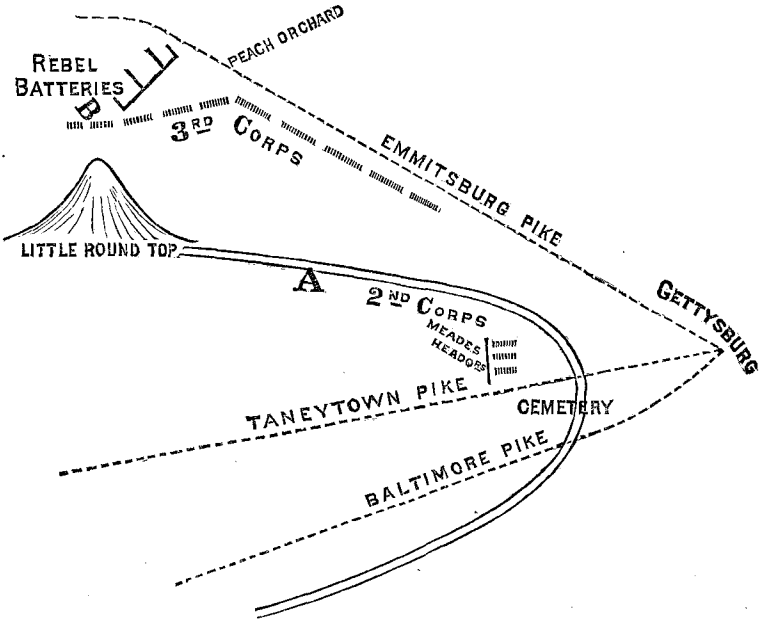
Longstreet's junction with the force as from the fact that the gallant fight of our cavalry prevented it, and it took Longstreet so long a time to force the Third Corps and its supports back into the position originally intended for it that the question of his making a junction with the force originally intended to go to our rear was no longer one for consideration then, and hence, as General Butterfield says, it is needless to speculate about it *now*.

The attempt to show that the main battle of Gettysburg took place on the 2d of July, and that the affair of the 3d was a mere episode, will, I think, prove a failure, for the simple reason that the facts do not justify that idea.

The rough sketch herewith will serve to give the general reader a fair idea of the situation.



There can be no question, I think, that General Meade intended originally the Third Corps to occupy the position marked A, in the line of battle (defined in my sketch by double lines). General Sickles, I believe, declares he never received any orders to that effect. Neither did he *receive any orders to go where he did go.*

In cases of this kind there is and can be but *one* rule in armies. If a soldier is ordered to go to a certain point on a field

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of battle, he goes there, *if he can*. If he does not get orders to go there, he does not go, with the one single exception that overwhelming necessity requires him to make the move, and this when he is so situated that he cannot solicit or receive the orders of his commanding officer. One of the principal reasons for selecting corps commanders is to obtain generals possessed of the qualifications and judgment requisite for the exercise of such discretion. General Sickles himself exemplifies the rule in disregarding an order he had from the commanding general in his pocket, and marching from Emmitsburg to Gettysburg. He marched "towards the enemy," and the results justified his judgment.

In the other case, in moving forward on the battlefield to the Emmitsburg pike, *he had no orders*, was almost under the very eye of the commanding general, and the very fact of his not receiving orders ought to have been, with him, a reason for still further delay in a forward movement on which the fate of the Army of the Potomac did not turn (nor that of his position). It is true the position at A had some disadvantages. Some portions of it were lower than some portions of the Emmitsburg pike, but the position along that pike, all the way up to the Peach Orchard, was well commanded by the batteries of the Second Corps, which, however, could not be used without hurting the men of Humphreys's division, Third Corps, as it fell back in great confusion completely enfiladed by the enemy's batteries at B. The case here was an entirely different one from the first case cited. In that General Sickles had a *preparatory* order from his distant commander to make a certain move on a certain contingency (the enemy assuming the offensive), but even that move was to take place only after the enemy was held in check long enough to get the trains, etc., out of the way. Earnest appeals for help came from Gettysburg, where the two corps (First and Eleventh) were fighting hard to "hold the enemy in check"; and General Sickles decided, and decided properly, to go to their assistance, and marched "to the sound of the guns."

In the other case General Sickles claims to have received no orders, although almost in sight of the army commander, and on his own responsibility he placed his corps in a faulty position, in which, to avoid his left flank being "in the air," he was obliged to form a "broken line," and bend his left back towards Little

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Round Top, thus increasing the weakness of his line and compelling him to call for help almost immediately after the enemy commenced the attack upon him. This enforced action of the Third Corps involved a heavy struggle, which included, besides that corps, one division of the Second and most of the Fifth, seriously endangered a rupture of our main line, and resulted in the advanced line being *hammered* into the position which we held to the last, and which General Meade intended originally should be held from the first.

JOHN GIBBON.

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A CHAT ABOUT NEWFOUNDLAND.

BY LADY BLAKE.

ALTHOUGH England's oldest colonial possession, Newfoundland is in some ways a very young colony, as for upwards of two centuries stringent laws were enacted to prevent permanent settlements from being made on the island. Any sea-captain leaving one of his crew there was liable to a heavy fine, and, with a view to preventing the formation of family ties in a land which England sought to keep merely as a fishing-station, women were strictly forbidden to go out to it. It is true that colonization had been attempted in the troublous days of Charles I. and during the Protectorate, but all such efforts had failed, and, once the fishing season had passed, the island was left to desolation, save for a few hundred Indians in the interior, a handful of men left to take care of boats and fishing-gear, and a sprinkling of ne'er-do-weels who dared not return to Europe.

It is generally easier to make laws than to enforce them, and in spite of regulations to the contrary population began to accumulate on the island; but there was no law, no rule, save that of the fishing admiral, as the first sea-captain who arrived at a port was termed during the ensuing fishing season. In 1670 an attempt was made to break up such settlements as existed by driving all such settlers six miles inland; any one refusing to comply was "to be driven out of the country." For two years misery and outrages reigned in the island, till at length a Mr. Downing, one of the residents, obtained an order from Charles II. preventing further persecution of those already there, though immigration was still strictly forbidden. Petitions were sent home by the settlers praying that a governor might be sent out to them, but the shipowners and others engaged in the bank fishery opposed the request, and at their instance it was rejected.

Some years previously the French had established a settlement on the beautiful bay of Placentia, and to this day portions

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of land there are held under a grant from Louis XIV., the deed with his signature being carefully treasured by a family living in the picturesque little town. Their French neighbors were a source of constant annoyance to the English, and hostilities between the two were frequent, and were carried on with the utmost ferocity. In 1696 a French force landed from Cape Breton, attacked, and, after a resistance of three days, captured the town of St. John's. On this occasion they distinguished themselves by scalping alive an unfortunate man whom they had made prisoner, by name William Drew, and in this condition they sent him into the fort to assure his countrymen that they would all be served in like manner unless they forthwith surrendered.

This was no solitary instance of savage barbarity on the part of the French, as the war in North America furnished many illustrations of a civilized nation descending to the level of the aborigines. The habit of employing Indian auxiliaries, from which neither side was clear, had a demoralizing influence on their employers. English scalps were presented as trophies to the viceroy of New France by the chiefs of the Abenaquis, and the annual register of 1753 states that on the capture of St. John's Island Lord Rollo found the house of the French governor decorated with the scalps of Englishmen who had been slain by the Indians.

Even after Newfoundland had been recognized as something more than a mere fishing-station, when a governor had been sent out and a few magistrates had been appointed, in distant ports—"out-harbors," as they are there termed—little law was known save that administered by fishing admirals, and the island was in a state little better than barbarism. As late as 1765 there was not a single school or church in the colony; those who migrated from England had never seen a clergyman since leaving their native land; those born in Newfoundland had never seen one in their lives. The history of the island in those days is deplorable. Oppression, violence, debauchery, and profanity were well-nigh universal. A clergyman of the name of Jackson had been sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as early as 1705; he received a stipend of £50 a year, and £30 for his voyage. However, he was unable, single-handed, to do much to improve a demoralized population scattered over a country nearly as large as England, without roads or any regular means of communication; and

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he seems before long to have resigned a task that was, under the circumstances, hopeless.

It is impossible in a short paper to trace the influences that led to the passing-away of the old state of things and the dawn of better days in the colony; but suffice it to say that the opening of the present century saw a great change in Newfoundland. The people, formerly negligent of all forms of religion, became scrupulous in attention to their religious duties; schools were established wherever practicable; churches of various denominations arose on all sides; and a general improvement in morals and manners was everywhere apparent.

Accustomed for several generations to a daily hand-to-hand fight against the "perils of the deep," storms, cold, and fare of the hardest, the Newfoundlanders are a hardy race. Large-boned and powerfully built, they are a clear case of the "survival of the fittest," delicate children rarely being able to battle up to manhood against the severity of the climate. In manner they are taciturn and homely, with a substratum of genuine kindliness and sturdy self-reliance. A large percentage of the islanders are of Irish descent, and retain much of the warm-heartedness of their ancestry; but the hard life and different surroundings have somewhat modified the buoyant and "happy-go-lucky" Irish nature, and made them graver, less excitable, possibly more reliable than their brethren in the old country.

Still, however, they treasure the traditions and many of the customs of their motherland, and it is interesting to find the superstitions of Mayo or Galway cropping up in this far-off island; such, for instance, as the "fear-gurtha," or hungry-grass, which is said to render it dangerous to traverse the hills of Erris or Tyrawley, in the west of Ireland, unless one has taken the precaution to put a cold potato or two or a piece of bread in one's pocket. Woe betide the man who steps on the hungry-grass without being provided with something to eat; he falls faint from hunger, and speedily expires if he cannot get some food, though a few grains of oatmeal or some crumbs of bread, if within reach, would save his life. The "fear-gurtha" is said to grow in some parts of the peninsula of Avalon, in Newfoundland, and the people, when starting on a journey, take precautions to save themselves should they be unfortunate enough to trample on it.

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In Ireland it is considered unlucky, or, at any rate, disrespectful, to carry a corpse to the grave by the shortest road. Sometimes, when the grave is dug, before being deposited in the ground the coffin is carried three times round the enclosure of the graveyard. In a wild district in the west of Ireland I once passed a ruined chapel, where two men were carefully, though not without difficulty, carrying a coffin on their shoulders, over the hillocks and heaps of stones that marked the resting-place of generations of Celts. The rest of the people had gone, the grave was open, but they remained to pay the last tribute of respect to their dead relative, as their fathers and forefathers had done from generation to generation. It struck me as a touching and simple ceremony, consecrated by centuries, and a pleasing contrast to the repulsive mutes and mourning-coaches of the city undertakers.

The idea of the longest road being the one that a funeral ought to go survives in Newfoundland also. A somewhat comical instance took place not long ago. A poor old woman lay dying, and sent for a priest well known and greatly respected in St. John's. The woman had always been extremely poor and lived on the verge of want, but she confided to her priest that for years she had been putting by money, which she had saved in order that it might be spent on giving her a fine funeral. She wished to go to the grave "with two horses under her." This money she now intrusted to the priest, and, having thus relieved her mind, she sank back. The good father, thinking that all was over, was about to go, when the old dame once more opened her eyes and exclaiming, "Mind, father, the round of the town," gave up the ghost.

On Candlemas Day the Roman Catholics used to crowd the chapels to receive a few drops on their hats and clothes from the blessed candles, and a piece was carried home and kept to preserve the house from evil spirits. This, in days gone by, as every one knows, was recognized all over Europe as a remedy against such undesirable visitors. Those who have travelled in the west of Ireland, if they happen to have been out late on the eve of St. John's Day, must have observed bonfires burning on the hillsides and at the cross-roads. The *Baal-tinné*, now called St. John's fires, have been burnt in Ireland on that mysterious night since the days when the Celts were pagans and human victims were burnt to appease the wrath of the infernal gods. And the Irish

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who have sought a new home across the Atlantic have carried the ancient custom with them, and on the eve of Midsummer's Day the hills and cliffs shutting in the picturesque harbor of St. John's are aglow with fires now kindled in honor of the Christian saint.

The isolation of life in the distant parts of Newfoundland during winter is extreme. Outside the peninsula of Avalon there are hardly any roads, and, even if they existed, snow and ice would render them impassable. Out to sea stretches a vast icy pavement, through which it is often impossible for even a steamer to ram its way. So all the long winter months the little hamlets lie surrounded by the great snow blanket, and cut off from communication from all mankind save those who inhabit their little settlement. Should the store of provisions run low, the situation is perilous, for there is no possibility of getting supplies unless a "lead" opens in the ice and allows a steamer to get along the coast; or, if she be not ice-bound at too great a distance, perhaps some of the men go out over the frozen sea to meet the vessel, and carry home food to their families. Should the ship fail to come, the people are sometimes driven to eat their dogs, of which several are usually kept in order to draw home wood from the forests on sleds. So great is the difficulty of communication during winter that a clergyman relates that on one occasion, as near to the capital as Trinity Bay, forty shillings had been demanded, and twenty-five were actually paid, for the conveyance of a single letter overland to the city by a cross-country guide. While the coast is ice-bound the direct steamers from England do not touch at Newfoundland, but the mails are brought up from Halifax in a small wooden steamer, expressly built for facing the ice; but even this vessel cannot always manage to get in, and mails have to be carried ashore seven or eight miles over the ice on men's backs.

The centre of Newfoundland is, to a great extent, *terra incognita*, except to a few trappers and sportsmen and the indefatigable head of the Newfoundland geological survey. Great lakes, larger than any in the United Kingdom, with the exception of Lough Neagh; solemn pine forests; vast tracts of moorland, or barrens, as they are locally termed, where feed herds of cariboo deer; rapid rivers and streams innumerable, lie neglected and uninhabited, though rich mines are contained in many of the hills, and good soil in many of the valleys, more certain of rewarding toil

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expended on it. Much of the scenery is very striking and beautiful, and in the summer and autumn, when the barrens are bright with azaleas, kalmias, blue irises, golden-rod, and the brilliant crimson leaves of the whortleberries, the coloring is very fine.

A very beautiful, but fatal, phenomenon is not infrequently seen during winter, namely, the silver thaw. When a night of sharp frost succeeds a foggy day, the next morning every branch, each stick and stone uncovered with snow, is seen coated and sparkling with a delicate film of ice. Should the day be sunshiny, the effect is lovely in the extreme, but fatal to the trees, whose branches are often broken by the weight of their crystal load. In France, Germany, and even in Italy, a similar phenomenon occurs. In France it is known as "verglas," in Germany as "glatteis," and in Italy as "verde ghiaccio." In the latter country its occurrence is disastrous to the olive-trees and brings despair to their owners. In 1820 it wrought such wholesale destruction in some places that the Grand Duke of Tuscany, out of pity for the distress of the peasantry, remitted taxation to the amount of over six thousand pounds. The beautiful silver thaw is not so much dreaded in Newfoundland, though sometimes cruel enough, as the unhappy grouse find, which during severe snow-storms at night allow the snow to drift over them, and no doubt congratulate themselves on the nice warm nest they have found below it. But sometimes after the storm the silver thaw sets in, the incrustation becomes too thick for the poor birds to break through in the morning, and great numbers perish in their frozen cage.

As most people have their unpleasant moods, so most countries have their unpleasant time, and in Newfoundland the spring is extremely disagreeable and trying. The ice and snow are melting; so skating and sleighing are at an end, but the deep slush renders walking a penance, and great drifts block up the roads every now and then, so that driving is an impossibility. It is a blessing when the sight of women and children dotted over the fields tells one that summer is nigh at hand. They are looking for the young shoots of dandelion, which are taken to market and find a ready sale, as early potatoes and spring lettuce do at home.

How gladly the poor, frozen-in dwellers in the out-harbors must emerge from their isolation and return to their wonted occupation of fishing! Fishing is the staff of life in Newfoundland, and

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cod is the only denizen of the deep acknowledged as fish in the island. In conversation with a fisherman one day we inquired if he had had luck so far that year. "I've taken a sight o' salmon," was his answer, "but no fish yet this season." When the capelin strike the coast, it is a gay and picturesque sight to see the shores of the various bays thronged with an eager crowd ladling the glittering mass of little silver fish, about the size of sprats, into carts and baskets. The sea is alive with capelin swarming in headlong haste and heedlessness to the destruction that awaits them on land. Whence they come and whither they go is unknown. Possibly they resolve on committing suicide on the first land they encounter, rather than fall into the jaws of the relentless whales that follow in their wake. In such masses are they taken that they are used to manure the land, no method having yet been found of preserving them with any success. They are a very delicate fish to eat and a bait irresistible to cod.

When the capelin have disappeared, their place as bait is supplied by herrings, and after these arrive the squid. The latter are in great shoals, and the individuals measure about six inches when the shoals are first seen, and have attained to almost a foot and a half in length when, like the capelin, they disappear and are seen no more. Whether individuals survive, some of which develop into the large cuttle-fish, with arms sixteen feet long, which are occasionally taken in the nets or cast ashore by the waves, has not been as yet ascertained.

It is a grand spectacle in July and August to see the huge icebergs slowly sailing along the coast, or aground in shallower water near the rocks. Sometimes as far as the eye can reach from the high cliffs overhanging the sea, every bay and cove in sight has one or more icebergs anchored in it. The effect of icebergs with a foreground of fir-trees and larches is particularly singular and beautiful. The icebergs are of all sizes, from a mile long downwards. In shape, too, they vary greatly, the very big ones resembling alabaster islands, others recalling pyramids and pinnacles. Sometimes a cascade is seen pouring from their tops, and now and then a polar bear has found its way to Newfoundland on one of these icy rafts.

Some few years ago, at the fishing village of Petty Harbor, ten miles from St. John's, a boy took up his position on one of

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the fish-flakes jutting out into the sea. He had an old musket with him, loaded with small shot, for the purpose of shooting little birds, and it was in the hope of seeing some that the boy went to the fish-flake. Suddenly he beheld two gigantic paws appear over the edge of the flake, and the next minute the muzzle and head of a large polar bear came in sight of the terrified boy, who instinctively discharged his fowling-piece, and at such close quarters that the charge entered the bear's head like a bullet, and the animal fell back stone-dead. The skin was afterwards sold in St. John's.

The country parts of Newfoundland ought to be visited in summer. The flora is varied and beautiful; butterflies and moths of great beauty are plentiful, swallow-tails and Camberwell beauties, so rare in England, being there comparatively common; and the fly-fishing, both for salmon and trout, is excellent. In autumn there is first-rate grouse-shooting, and cariboo deer are found in abundance in the interior.

To appreciate St. John's, the capital city, it should be seen in winter, when snow is piled five feet high in the streets, and icicles from six feet to six inches long hang in a glittering fringe from eaves and waterspouts. The town is well situated on a steep declivity overhanging the fine harbor. Most of the streets are exceedingly steep, and, in spite of police regulations to the contrary, there is hardly one down which a string of delighted youngsters does not continually come tobogganing. Those who can afford it are provided with "coasters," but when these are not to be had a tea-tray is not a bad substitute, and is often used for the purpose. Sleighs, the horses covered with bells and the occupants with furs, glide pleasantly along, till a "gulch" in the road almost dislocates the necks of those who sit in the sleigh. Every now and then comes a little sledge, sometimes drawn by a tiny cur; sometimes a pair of dogs are in the traces, possibly a large black one and a small tan mongrel; and, wherever circumstances admit, boys and girls are skating in the gutters. As with the toboggans, so with the skates: the well-to-do have "acmes" or English skates; the "johnnies" improvise them out of the backs of blacking-brushes. The meat exposed in the butcher's shops is all frozen; so are the cabbages, which, by-the-by, are also sold by the butchers. Frozen hares, frozen grouse, and occasionally frozen caribou venison are also offered for sale.

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St. John's boasts two fine rinks and several large assembly halls, all built of wood. Churches are numerous, the gem of them architecturally being the Anglican Cathedral, an edifice of which any city might be proud. It is by many considered Sir Gilbert Scott's best work, and is said to be the best specimen of Gothic on that side of the Atlantic. All the churches are provided with porches, and in winter a man waits with a brush of twigs to brush off any snow that may be adhering to one's garments. The churches are all heated with hot-air pipes, and to enter with snowflakes on one would cause great discomfort.

Socially St. John's is gayest during the winter. The people are fond of music, and devote themselves to it with enthusiasm. The educated classes are fond of society, hospitable, warm-hearted, anxious to please and be pleased, and ever ready with their purses and time to aid any good work. There is considerable theatrical talent in the place; so, what with plays, operettas, bazaars, ice-carnivals, concerts, balls, moonlight toboggan parties, skating and sleighing, the inhabitants have not a bad time of it, let the winter be as severe as it may.

EDITH BLAKE.

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THE A B C OF MONEY.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

I SUPPOSE every one who has spoken to or written for the public has wished at times that everybody would drop everything and just listen to him for a few minutes. I feel so this morning, for I believe that a grave injury threatens the people and the progress of our country simply because the masses—the farmers and the wage-earners—do not understand the question of money. I wish therefore to explain "money" in so simple a way that all can understand it.

Perhaps some one in the vast audience which I have imagined I am about to hold spellbound cries out: "Who are you—a gold-bug, a millionaire, an iron-baron, a beneficiary of the McKinley Bill?" Before beginning my address, let me therefore reply to that imaginary gentleman that I have not seen a thousand dollars in gold for many a year. So far as the McKinley Bill is concerned, I am perhaps the one man in the United States who has the best right to complain under it, for it has cut and slashed the duties upon iron and steel, reducing them 20, 25, and 30 per cent.; and if it will recommend me to my supposed interrupter, I beg to inform him that I do not greatly disapprove of these reductions, that as an American manufacturer I intend to struggle still against the foreigner for the home market, even with the lower duties fixed upon our product by that bill, and that I am not in favor of protection beyond the point necessary to allow Americans to retain their own market in a fair contest with the foreigner.

It does not matter who the man is, nor what he does,—be he worker in the mine, factory, or field, farmer, laborer, merchant,

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manufacturer, or millionaire,—he is deeply interested in understanding this question of money, and in having the right policy adopted in regard to it. Therefore I ask all to hear what I have to say, because what is good for one worker must be good for all, and what injures one must injure all, poor or rich.

To get at the root of the subject, you must know, first, why money exists; secondly, what money really is. Let me try to tell you, taking a new district of our own modern country to illustrate how "money" comes. In times past, when the people only tilled the soil, and commerce and manufactures had not developed, men had few wants, and so they got along without "money" by exchanging the articles themselves when they needed something which they had not. The farmer who wanted a pair of shoes gave so many bushels of corn for them, and his wife bought her sun-bonnet by giving so many bushels of potatoes; thus all sales and purchases were made by exchanging articles—by barter.

As population grew and wants extended, this plan became very inconvenient. One man in the district then started a general store and kept on hand a great many of the things which were most wanted, and took for these any of the articles which the farmer had to give in exchange. This was a great step in advance, for the farmer who wanted half a dozen different things when he went to the village had then no longer to search for half a dozen different people who wanted one or more of the things he had to offer in exchange. He could now go directly to one man, the storekeeper, and for any of his agricultural products he could get most of the articles he desired. It did not matter to the storekeeper whether he gave the farmer tea or coffee, blankets or a hayrake; nor did it matter what articles he took from the farmer, wheat or corn or potatoes, so he could send them away to the city and get other articles for them which he wanted. The farmer could even pay the wages of his hired men by giving them orders for articles upon the store. No dollars appear here yet, you see; all is still barter—exchange of articles; very inconvenient and very costly, because the agricultural articles given in exchange had to be hauled about and were always changing their value.

One day the storekeeper would be willing to take, say, a bushel of wheat for so many pounds of sugar; but upon the next visit of the farmer it might be impossible for him to do so. He might require more wheat for the same amount of sugar. But if the

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market for wheat had risen and not fallen, you may be sure the storekeeper didn't take less wheat as promptly as he required more. Just the same with any of the articles which the farmer had to offer. These went up and down in value; so did the tea and the coffee, and the sugar and the clothing, and the boots and the shoes which the storekeeper had for exchange.

Now, it is needless to remark that in all these dealings the storekeeper had the advantage of the farmer. He knew the markets and their ups and downs long before the farmer did, and he knew the signs of the times better than the farmer or any of his customers could. The cute storekeeper had the inside track all the time. Just here I wish you to note particularly that the storekeeper liked to take one article from the farmer better than another; that article being always the one for which the storekeeper had the best customers—something that was most in demand. In Virginia that article came to be tobacco; over a great portion of our country it was wheat,—whence comes the saying, "As good as wheat." It was taken everywhere, because it could be most easily disposed of for anything else desired. A curious illustration about wheat I find in the life of my friend, Judge Mellon, of Pittsburg, who has written one of the best biographies in the world because it is done so naturally. When the Judge's father bought his farm near Pittsburg, he agreed to pay, not in "dollars," but in "sacks of wheat"—so many sacks every year. This was not so very long ago.

What we now call "money" was not much used then in the West or South, but you see that in its absence experience had driven the people to select some one article to use for exchanging other articles, and that this was wheat in Pennsylvania and tobacco in Virginia. This was done, not through any legislation, not because of any liking for one article more than another, but simply because experience had proved the necessity for making the one thing serve as "money" which had proved itself best as a basis in paying for a farm or for effecting any exchange of things; and, further, different articles were found best for the purpose in different regions. Wheat was "as good as wheat" for using as "money," independent of any law. The people had voted for wheat and made it their "money"; and because tobacco was the principal crop in Virginia, the people there found it the best for using as "money" in that State.

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Please observe that in all cases human society chooses for that basis-article we call "money" that which fluctuates least in price, is the most generally used or desired, is in the greatest, most general, and most constant demand, and has value in itself. "Money" is only a word meaning the article used as the basis-article for exchanging all other articles. An article is not first made valuable by law and then elected to be "money." The article first proves itself valuable and best suited for the purpose, and so becomes of itself and in itself the basis-article—money. It elects itself. Wheat and tobacco were just as clearly "money" when used as the basis-article as gold and silver are "money" now.

We take one step further. The country becomes more and more populous, the wants of the people more and more numerous. The use of bulky products like wheat and tobacco, changeable in value, liable to decay, and of different grades, is soon found troublesome and unsuited for the growing business of exchange of articles, and they are therefore unfit to be longer used as "money." You see at once that we could not get along to-day with grain as "money." Then metals proved their superiority. These do not decay, do not change in value so rapidly, and they share with wheat and tobacco the one essential quality of also having value in themselves for other purposes than for the mere basis of exchange. People want them for personal adornment or in manufactures and the arts—for a thousand uses; and it is this very fact that makes them suitable for use as "money." Just try to count how many purposes gold is needed for, because it is best suited for those purposes. It meets us everywhere. We cannot even get married without the ring of gold.

Now, because metals have a value in the open market, being desired for other uses than for the one use as "money," and because the supply of these is limited and cannot be increased as easily as that of wheat or tobacco, these metals are less liable to fluctuate in value than any article previously used as "money." This is of vital importance, for the one essential quality that is needed in the article which we use as a basis for exchanging all other articles is fixity of value. The race has instinctively always sought for the one article in the world which most resembles the North Star among the other stars in the heavens, and used it as "money"—the article that changes least in value, as

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the North Star is the star which changes its position least in the heavens; and what the North Star is among stars the article people elect as "money" is among articles. All other articles revolve around it, as all other stars revolve around the North Star.

We have proceeded so far that we have now dropped all perishable articles and elected metals as our "money"; or, rather, metals have proved themselves better than anything else for the standard of value, "money." But another great step had to be taken. When I was in China, I received as change shavings and chips cut off a bar of silver and weighed before my eyes in the scales of the merchant, for the Chinese have no "coined" money. In Siam "cowries" are used—pretty little shells which the natives use as ornaments. Twelve of these represent a cent in value. But you can well see how impossible it was for me to prevent the Chinese dealer from giving me less than the amount of silver to which I was entitled, or the Siam dealer from giving me poor shells, of the value of which I knew nothing. Civilized nations soon felt the necessity of having their governments take certain quantities of the metals and stamp upon them evidence of their weight, purity, and real value. Thus came the "coinage" of metals into "money"—a great advance. People then knew at sight the exact value of each piece, and could no longer be cheated, no weighing or testing being necessary. Note that the government stamp did not add any value to the coin. The government did not attempt to "make money" out of nothing; it only told the people the market value of the metal in each coin, just what the metal—the raw material—could be sold for as metal and not as "money."

But even after this much swindling occurred. Rogues cut the edges and then beat the coins out, so that many of these became very light. A clever Frenchman invented the "milling" of the edges of the coins, whereby this robbery was stopped, and civilized nations had at last the coinage which still remains with us, the most perfect ever known, because it is of high value in itself and changes least. An ideally-perfect article for use as "money" is one that never changes. This is essential for the protection of the workers—the farmers, mechanics, and all who labor; for nothing tends to make every exchange of articles a speculation so much as "money" which changes in

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value, and in the game of speculation the masses of the people are always sure to be beaten by the few who deal in money and know most about it.

Nothing places the farmer, the wage-earner, and all those not closely connected with financial affairs at so great a disadvantage in disposing of their labor or products as changeable "money." All such are exactly in the position occupied by the farmer trading with the storekeeper as before described. You all know that fish will not rise to the fly in calm weather. It is when the wind blows and the surface is ruffled that the poor victim mistakes the lure for a genuine fly. So it is with the business affairs of the world. In stormy times, when prices are going up and down, when the value of the article used as money is dancing about—up to-day and down to-morrow—and the waters are troubled, the clever speculator catches the fish and fills his basket with the victims. Hence the farmer and the mechanic, and all people having crops to sell or receiving salaries or wages, are those most deeply interested in securing and maintaining fixity of value in the article they have to take as "money."

When the use of metals as money came, it was found that more than two metals were necessary to meet all requirements. It would not be wise to make a gold coin for any smaller sum than a dollar, for the coin would be too small; and we could not use a silver coin for more than one dollar, because the coin would be too large. So we had to use a less valuable metal for small sums, and we took silver; but it was soon found that we could not use silver for less than ten-cent coins, a dime being as small a coin as can be used in silver; and we were compelled to choose something else for smaller coins. We had to take a metal less valuable than silver, and we took a mixture of nickel and copper to make five-cent pieces; but even then we found that nickel was too valuable to make one- and two-cent pieces, and so we had to take copper alone for these—the effort in regard to every coin being to put metal in it as nearly as possible to the full amount of what the government stamp said the coin was worth.

Thus for one cent in copper we tried to put in a cent's worth of copper; in the "nickel" we tried to put in something like five cents' worth of nickel and copper; but because copper and nickel change in value from day to day, even more than silver, it is impossible to get in each coin the exact amount

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of value. If we put in what was one day the exact value, and copper and nickel rose in the market as metal, coins would be melted down by the dealers in these metals and a profit made by them, and we should have no coin left. Therefore we have to leave a margin and always put a little less metal in these coins than would sell for the full amount they represent. Hence all this small coinage is called in the history of money "token money." It is a "token" that it will bring so much in gold. Anybody who holds twenty "nickels" must be able to get as good as one gold dollar for them in order that these may safely serve their purpose as money. Nations generally fix a limit to the use of "token money," and make it legal tender to a small amount. For instance, in Britain no one can make another take "token money" for more than ten dollars, and all silver coins there are classed as "token money."

I cannot take you any more steps forward in the development of "money," because in the coined-milled metals we have the last step of all; but I have some things yet to tell you about it.

Although one would think that in coined metal pieces we had reached perfection, and that with these the masses of the people could not be cheated out of what is so essential to their well-being,—"honest money,"—yet one way was found to defraud the people even when such coin was used. The coins have sometimes been "debased" by needy governments after exhausting wars or pestilence, when countries were really too poor or too weak to recover from their misfortunes. A coin is called a "debased" coin when it does not possess metal enough to bring in the open market the sum stamped upon the coin by the government. There is nothing new about this practice, which always cheats the masses. It is very, very old. Five hundred and seventy-four years before Christ the Greeks debased their coinage. The Roman emperors debased theirs often when in desperate straits. England debased hers in the year 1,300. The Scotch coin was once so debased that one dollar was worth only twelve cents. The Irish, the French, German, and Spanish governments have all tried debased coin when they could wring no more taxes directly out of their people, and had therefore to get more money from them indirectly. It was always the last resort to "debase" the coinage. These instances happened long ago. Nations of the first rank in our day do not

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fall so low. I must pause to make one exception to this statement. I bow my head in shame as I write it—the republic of the United States. Every one of its silver dollars is a "debased coin." When a government issues "debased coin," it takes leave of all that experience has proved to be sound in regard to money. Sound finance requires the government only to certify to the real value possessed by each coin issued from its mints, so that the people may not be cheated. Every time the government stamps the words "One Dollar" upon 371¼ grains of silver, it stamps a lie; disgraceful, but, alas! too true, for the silver in it is worth today not a dollar, but only seventy-eight cents.

Another delusion about money has often led nations into trouble—the idea that a government could "make money" simply by stamping certain words upon pieces of paper, just as any of you can "make money" by writing a note promising to pay one hundred dollars on demand. But you know that when you do that, you are not making "money," but making "a debt"; so is any government that issues its promise to pay. And there is this about both the individual and the government who take to issuing such notes upon a large scale: they seldom pay them. The French did this during their Revolution, and more recently the Confederate States "made money" at a great pace, and issued bonds which are now scarcely worth the paper they are printed upon. Every experiment of this kind has proved that there can be no money "made" where there is not value behind it. Our own country issued bonds, and the people of other nations bought them for forty cents upon the dollar, although they bore and paid interest at 6 per cent. in *gold*, so great was the fear that even the bonds of this country would not prove an exception to the usual fate of such securities issued during trying times. Only because the government kept strict faith and paid the interest and principal of these bonds in gold, and never in silver or in any depreciated currency, has the value of its bonds advanced, and the credit of the United States become the highest in the world, exceeding that even of Great Britain. There has never been a better illustration of the truth that in dealing with "money," as in everything else, "honesty is the best policy." Our government also issued some notes known as "greenbacks." But the wise men who did this took care to provide a fund of one hundred millions of dollars in gold to redeem them, so that any

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man having a greenback can march to the treasury and receive for it one dollar in gold.

But I am now to tell you another quality which this basis-article of metal has proved itself to possess, which you will find it very difficult to believe. The whole world has such confidence in its fixity of value that there has been built upon it, as upon a sure foundation, a tower of "credit" so high, so vast, that all the silver and gold in the United States, and all the greenbacks and notes issued by the government, only perform 8 per cent. of the exchanges of the country. Go into any bank, trust company, mill, factory, store, or place of business, and you will find that for every one hundred thousand dollars of business transacted, only about eight thousand dollars of "money" is used, and this only for petty purchases and payments. Ninety-two per cent. of the business is done with little bits of paper—checks, drafts. Upon this basis also rest all the government bonds, all State, county, and city bonds, and the thousands of millions of bonds the sale of which has enabled our great railway systems to be built, and also the thousands of millions of the earnings of the masses deposited in savings-banks, which have been lent by these banks to various parties, and which must be returned in "good money" or the poor depositor's savings will be partially or wholly lost.

The business and exchanges of the country, therefore, are not done now with "money"—with the article itself. Just as in former days the articles themselves ceased to be exchanged, and a metal called "money" was used to effect the exchanges, so to-day the metal itself—the "money"—is no longer used. The check or draft of the buyer of articles upon a store of gold deposited in a bank—a little bit of paper—is all that passes between the buyer and the seller. Why is this bit of paper taken by the seller or the one to whom there is a debt due? Because the taker is confident that if he really needed the article itself that it calls for—the gold—he could get it. He is confident also that he will not need the article itself, and why? Because for what he wishes to buy the seller or any man whom he owes will take his check, a similar little bit of paper, instead of gold itself; and then, most vital of all, every one is confident that the basis-article cannot change in value. For remember it would be almost as bad if it rose in value as if it fell; steadiness of value being one essential quality in "money" for the masses of the people.

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When, therefore, people clamor for more "money" to be put in circulation,—that is, for more of the article which we use to effect an exchange of articles,—you see that more "money" is not so much what is needed. Nobody who has had wheat or tobacco or any article to sell has ever found any trouble for want of "money" in the hands of the buyer to effect the exchange. We had a very severe financial disturbance in this country only three months ago. "Money," it was said, could not be had for business purposes; but it was not the metal itself that was lacking, but "credit," confidence, for upon that, as you have seen, all business is done except small purchases and payments which can scarcely be called "business" at all. To-day the business man cannot walk the street without being approached by people begging him to take this "credit" at very low rates of interest: at 2 per cent. per annum "money" (credit) can be had day by day. There has been no considerable difference in the amount of "money" in existence during the ninety days. There was about as much money in the country in January as there is in March. It was not the want of money, then, that caused the trouble. The foundation had been shaken upon which stood the ninety-two thousand of every one hundred thousand dollars of business. The metal itself and notes—real "money," as we have seen—only apply to the eight thousand dollars. Here comes the gravest of all dangers in tampering with the basis. You shake directly the foundation upon which rests 92 per cent. of all the business exchanges of the country,—confidence, credit,—and indirectly the trifling 8 per cent. as well which is transacted by the exchange of the metal itself or by government notes; for the standard article is the foundation for every exchange, both the ninety-two thousand and the eight thousand dollars. So, you see, if that be undermined, the vast structure, comprising all business, built upon it, must totter.

I have finished telling you about "money." We come now to apply the facts to the present situation, and here we enter at once upon the silver question; and I am sure you are all attention, for it is the most pressing of all questions now before you. You see that the race, in its progress, has used various articles as "money," and discarded them when better articles were found, and that it has finally reached coined pieces of valuable metal as

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the most perfect article. Only two metals are used among civilized nations as the standard metal—gold in some countries, silver in others. No country can have two standards. Centuries ago silver was adopted as the standard in China, India, and Japan, and more recently in the South American republics; and it still is the standard in these countries. When adopted it was a wise choice; silver had nearly double its present value, and was then steady, and it answered all the needs of a rural people.

The principal nations of Europe and our own country, being further advanced and having much greater business transactions, found the necessity for using as a standard a more valuable metal than silver, and gold was adopted; but as silver was used as money in many parts of the world as the standard, and used in these gold-basis countries for "small change," it was advisable for these nations to agree upon the value in gold which would be accorded to silver, and this was fixed at fifteen and one-half ounces of silver to one of gold. Please note that this was then as nearly as possible the market value of silver as a metal compared with gold as a metal. The nations did not attempt to give to silver any fictitious value, but only its own inherent value. And, more than this, each of these nations agreed, when the agreement came to an end, to redeem all the silver coin it had issued in gold at the value fixed. Everything went well under this arrangement for a long time. The more advanced nations were upon a gold basis, the less advanced nations upon a silver basis, and both were equally well served.

What, then, has raised this *silver question* which everybody is discussing? Just this fact: that while the supply, and therefore the value, of gold remained about the same, great deposits of silver were discovered, wonderful improvements made in mining machinery, and still more wonderful in the machinery for refining silver ore; and as more and more silver was produced at less cost, its value naturally fell more and more; one ounce of it, worth $1.33 in 1872, being worth to-day only $1.04. It has fallen as low as 93 cents. It has danced up and down; it has lost fixity of value. To all countries upon a silver basis there have come confusion and disaster in consequence. The question in India, with its two hundred and eighty-five millions of people, is most serious; and you see how our South American republics are troubled from this fall in the value of their basis-article, by

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which all other articles are measured. Even the European nations which are upon a gold basis are troubled by this "silver question," for under the agreement to rate fifteen and a half ounces of silver as worth an ounce of gold some of these nations have had enormous amounts of silver thrust upon them. Most of them saw what was coming many years ago, and ceased to increase their silver: some disposed of a great deal of what they had, and placed themselves strictly upon the gold basis; but there are still in European countries eleven hundred millions of dollars of silver legal-tender coins, not counting the amount of "token" silver money used for small change. It is not safe to say that less than twenty-five ounces of it would be found equal to one ounce of gold if put in the market, instead of the fifteen-and-a-half-ounce basis upon which these countries have obtained it.

All European countries have been, and are still, trying hard to escape from silver. In 1878 those comprising the Latin Union, which fixed the price of silver,—France, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, and Greece,—finally closed their mints to legal-tender silver. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark in 1873 and 1875 ran out from under the silver avalanche, and now stand firmly upon a gold basis. Holland also, in 1875, took its stand practically upon gold. Austria-Hungary has not coined silver since 1879, except a small amount of "Levant silver thalers" for a special trade purpose. Even half-civilized Russia took the alarm, and ran as fast as she could out of the silver danger, for in 1876 she shut her mints to the further coinage of the dangerous metal, except such small amount as China wished to take promptly from her. So you see that all those countries that have tried silver and found out the evils which it produces, and its dangers, have been, and are now, using every means to rid themselves of it. For thirteen years it has been cast out of their mints, for during this long period no full legal-tender silver coins have been issued in Europe. Only our republic, among nations, is boldly plunging deeper and deeper into the dangers of silver coinage. When we have had the experience of older nations as to its operations, we may and, I think, surely will wish, like them, to retrace our steps when it is too late. So, you see, there is trouble wherever there is silver. What to do with their silver, which has fallen so low in value, is a serious problem in all these countries. It hangs like a dark cloud over their future.

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So much has silver fallen in all parts of the world and disturbed everything that several conferences have been called by the nations in recent years, to which the United States has sent delegates. The object of these was to see whether the chief commercial nations could not agree again upon a new gold value for silver. But the conclusion has always been that it was too dangerous to attempt to fix a new value for silver until it could be more clearly seen what the future was to show about its supply and value, for perhaps it might fall so low that twenty-five or thirty ounces of it would not be worth more than an ounce of gold; no one can tell. As our country has already gone so far into the danger as to have four hundred and eighty-two millions of dollars in depreciated silver, we had to confer with our neighbors in misfortune, and appear as creditors have to appear at meetings held to try to support the bad business of a failing debtor.

Perhaps you are asking yourselves why, when I spoke of all the European countries in relation to silver, I did not state the amount of silver held in reserve by our principal rival, Great Britain. Listen one moment, and then ponder over the reply. *Not one dollar.* France has no less than six hundred and fifty millions of dollars in silver in her bank; but every dollar of Britain's reserves are in the one steady, unchangeable basis-article—gold. Wise old bird, the dear mother-land sits upon her perch, whistling away out of all danger from this silver trouble. She has made London the financial centre of the world. If anything be bought or sold in foreign lands, a draft upon London is demanded; because every one knows that, come what may, it will be paid in the best article, which cannot fall in value—gold. No draft upon Paris or Vienna or New York for wise men. Why? Because the nations represented by these cities have become involved in great possible losses by their huge piles of silver, and may attempt by legislation to make drafts payable in that metal, which fluctuates so in value.

I wish the people of the United States would watch Britain carefully. She is keeping her own counsel; she is treating the silver-loaded nations with cool politeness in the conferences, which she graciously condescends to attend only because India, over which she rules, is unfortunately upon a silver basis; if it were not for that, she would probably politely decline. When they talk about

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fixing a gold value upon silver, she says that she really does not know what she will decide upon in the matter. What she is praying for is that the United States will continue to go deeper and deeper into silver until retreat is impossible, and she will keep her old policy, which has made her supreme in finance. Her only possible rival is not to be found in Europe, but here in the United States. What a grand thing for Britain if our country could be brought down to a silver basis—forced to relinquish the one standard which can alone give a nation front rank in the financial world! Silver for the republic, Gold for the monarchy: this is what Great Britain is hoping may come to pass, and what every American should resolve never shall. Governments may pass what laws they please about silver: the world heeds them not. Every business transaction between nations continues to be based on gold exclusively—nothing but gold—and will so continue. Britain knows this and acts accordingly.

I think I hear you ask indignantly: "How came our country to have three hundred and twelve millions of silver dollars in its vaults, like France, instead of having its reserves in the sure gold, like our rival, Britain, when, like Britain, we have gold as our basis?" That is a question every farmer and every toiler should ask, and demand an answer to, from his representative in Congress. The reason is easily given. Here is the history. Silver, as we have seen, had fallen in value, and was likely to fall still more. European nations were loaded down with many hundreds of millions of dollars, and all anxious to get rid of it; owners of silver and of silver mines were alarmed; what was to be done to prop the falling metal? Evidently the government was the only power which could undertake the task; and towards that end all the influence and resources of the silver power were bent—alas! with eminent success; for the masses of the people were represented as in favor of silver. If true, they were going with the speculators against their own interests, in the most direct way possible.

The first act which aimed to give by legislation a value to silver was passed in 1878. It required our government to buy at least two million ounces of silver every month, while all other governments had stopped coining it, because it had become dangerously erratic in value. The silver men insisted that these purchases would raise its value; but were they right? No. It did not

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advance in price. What was to be done then? "Ah!" said these silver-tongued speculators, "the trouble is, the government has not gone far enough; only increase the amount; let the government buy four and a half million ounces per month of our silver instead of two million per month, and this will take all that the country's mines yield, and more too, and so silver must advance in value." They were right in stating that four and a half millions per month are more than the total yield of the United States silver mines; and then eight to ten millions of silver are taken and used every year for other purposes than coining into "money," leaving not more than, say, four millions per month for coinage. Many people were persuaded that if the government bought so much silver per month the value of silver must advance. The price did advance, because many of these mistaken people bought it upon speculation before the bill passed. Silver rose from 96 to 121—almost to its old rate in gold.

But what has been the result since the passage of the new bill? The answer is found in the quotation for silver to-day. It is back from 121 to 97, and here we are again. So, instead of being free from the silver trouble, as Britain is and we should have been, these men have succeeded in unloading upon the government already three hundred and ninety millions of dollars of their silver, and we are getting almost as badly off as France; but with this difference: France and other nations prudently stopped adding to their burdens of silver thirteen years ago, while our government is adding to its store four and one-half millions of ounces every month, costing a little more than that amount of dollars. The United States is trying to ignore the changed position of silver, and to make it equal to gold, against the judgment of all other first-class nations. To succeed, we shall have to buy not only what our own mines produce, but a great deal of what all other mines produce throughout the world, the total yield of silver being enough to make one hundred and sixty-eight millions of our silver dollars every year; and then we must, in addition, be prepared to buy the eleven hundred millions of dollars' worth with which European governments are now loaded down, and which they are so anxious to sell.

So far from the government purchases of silver having raised its value, the government could not to-day sell the three hundred

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and thirteen millions of dollars' worth in its vaults without losing some millions upon the price it has paid the silver-owners for it. You will scarcely believe that the accounts of the treasury state that the government has made, so far, sixty-seven millions of profit upon its silver purchases. This is claimed because for the amount of silver put in a dollar it has paid only about eighty cents. All this "profit" is fictitious. You see, the nation has been led into very foolish purchases of silver. Four and a half millions of your earnings are taken through taxes every month, not for the constitutional purposes of government, but in an effort to bolster a metal by paying prices for it far higher than it otherwise would command. Your government is being used as a tool to enrich the owners of silver and silver mines. This is bad indeed, but hardly worth mentioning compared with the danger of panic and disaster it brings with it through the probable banishment of the steady gold basis and the introduction of the unsteady basis of silver.

The republic had the disgrace of slavery, and abolished it. Until this year it was disgraced in the eyes of the world because it had no law which secured to others than its own citizens the right to their literary productions. That disgrace has passed away also; but there has come upon it the disgrace of "debased coinage." The great republic issues dishonest coin, and it is the only nation in the world which does so, except Mexico, which still coins a little silver. But while the disgrace is upon us, the financial evils of "debased" coinage are yet to come; for, although the government issues debased coin, it agrees to receive it as worth a dollar in payment of duties and taxes, and makes it legal tender, and so it passes from hand to hand for the present as worth dollars. In this way the government has been able so far to prevent its depreciation. How long it can continue issuing four and a half millions more of these notes or coins every month and keep them equal to gold nobody can tell. But one thing is clear: ultimately the load must become too heavy, and, unless silver rises in value, or enough is put into the dollars to represent their value in gold, or the purchase of silver by the government is stopped, we must sooner or later fall from the gold basis to the condition of the Argentine and other South American republics.

This is how these silver dollars will act which have not metal enough to sell for dollars when the world begins to lose confidence

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in the ability of the government issuing them to pay gold for them when asked. Suppose a number of you had decided to carry a huge log from the woods, and you all got under, and, bending your necks, took its weight upon your shoulders, and then some doubted whether you really could stagger on under the load; and suppose two or three of you, after casting timid glances at each other, concluded you had better get from under: what would be the result? The lack of confidence would probably result in killing those who were foolish enough to remain. It is just so with this delicate question of the measure of values. A few speculators or "gold-bugs" will resolve that, come what may, they will make themselves safe and get from under.

Even in the mind of the most reckless there will be some doubt whether the United States alone can take the load of the world upon its shoulders and carry it, when all the other nations together are afraid to try it, and when no nation in the history of the world has ever succeeded in giving permanent value, as a standard for money, to a metal that did not in itself possess that value. Mark this: that our government has only succeeded so far in doing this with its silver dollars because it has issued only a limited quantity, and has been able to *redeem them in gold*—just as you could take a piece of paper and write on it, "This is good for one dollar, and I promise to pay it." That would be your "fiat" money. The question is, How long could you get people to take these slips for dollars? How soon would some suspicious man suggest that you were issuing too many? And then these slips would lose reputation; people would begin to doubt whether you could really pay all the dollars promised if called upon; and from that moment you could issue no more. Just so with governments: all can keep their small change afloat, although it may not contain metal equal to its face value; and it is a poor government which cannot go a little further and get the world to take something from it in the shape of "money" which is only partially so. But then, remember, any government will soon exhaust its credit if it continues to issue as "money" anything but what has intrinsic value as metal all the world over. Every nation has had eventually to recoin its "debased" coin or repudiate its obligations, and go through the perils and disgrace of loss of credit and posi-

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tion. In many instances the "debased" coin never was redeemed, the poor people who held it being compelled to stand the loss.

There is, however, one valuable feature of the present silver law which, if not changed, may stop the issue of many more "debased silver dollars." It requires that two millions of the four and a half millions of ounces of silver purchased each month shall be coined into money for one year. After that, only such amounts are to be coined as are found necessary to redeem the silver notes issued. As people prefer the notes to the silver, little or no coinage of silver dollars will be necessary, and only silver notes will be issued. When the government ceases to coin silver dollars, it will stand forth in its true character before the people—that of a huge speculator in silver, or, rather, as the tool of silver speculators, piling up in its vaults every month four and a half millions of ounces, not in the form of "money," but in bars. Surely this cannot fail to awaken the people to the true state of affairs, and cause them to demand that the reckless speculation shall cease.

It is in every respect much less dangerous, however, to keep the silver purchased in bullion than to coin it in "debased dollars," because it renders it easier at some future day to begin the coinage of honest silver dollars—that is, coins containing the amount of silver metal that commands a dollar as metal; instead of 371 grains of silver, 450, or 460, or more or less, should be used. This is just about the amount the government gets for each dollar. No possible act of legislation that I know of would produce such lasting benefit to the masses of the people of this country. But beyond material benefit something much higher is involved—the honor of the republic. The stamp of its government should certify only that which is true.

I do not suppose that there are many men in the United States, except owners of silver, who would vote that silver take the place of gold as the standard of value. If the people understood that the question was whether the one metal or the other—silver or gold—should be elected as the standard, the vote would be almost unanimous for gold, its superiority is so manifest. Yet such is surely the issue, although the advocates of silver disclaim any intention to disturb the gold standard, saying they only desire to elevate silver and give it the position which gold has as money. But you might as well try to have two horses come in

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"first" in a race or to have two "best" of anything. You might as well argue for two national flags in one country. Just as surely as the citizen has to elect the banner under which he stands or falls, so surely must he elect gold or silver for his financial standard. The standard article cannot be made to share its throne with anything else, any more than the stars-and-stripes can be made to share its sovereignty with any other flag in its own country; for there is this law about "money": the worst drives the best from the field. The reason for this is very clear.

Suppose you get in change a five-dollar gold piece and five dollars in silver, and there is some doubt whether an act of Congress will really prove effective in keeping silver equal to gold in value forever: ninety-nine people out of a hundred may think that the law will give this permanent value to silver, which the article itself does not possess; but one man in a hundred may have doubts upon the subject. I think the more a man knows about "money," the more doubts he will have; and, although you may have no doubts, still the fact that I have doubts, for instance, will lead you to say: "Well, he may be right; it is possible I may be wrong. I guess I will give Smith this silver for my groceries to-morrow, and give the old lady this beautiful bright golden piece to put by; it needs no acts of Congress—all the acts of Congress in the world cannot lessen its value; the metal in it is worth five dollars anywhere in the world, independent of the government stamp; these five pieces of silver are worth only three dollars and seventy-five cents as metal. Yes, I shall let Smith have the silver—*gold is good enough for me.*"

And you may be sure Smith unloads the silver as soon as he can upon Jones. And many people will believe and act so, and the gold in the country will disappear from business, and silver alone will be seen and circulate; every man that gets it giving it to another as soon as he can, and so keeping it in active circulation; and every man that gets a bit of gold holding it, and thus keeping it out of circulation. So instead of having more money, if we go in for trying by law to force an artificial value upon silver in order to to use it as money, we shall really soon have less money in circulation. The seven hundred millions of gold which is now in circulation, and which is the basis of

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everything, will speedily vanish, the vast structure of credit built upon it be shaken, and the masses of the people compelled to receive silver dollars worth only seventy-eight cents, instead of being, as now, redeemable in gold and always worth one hundred cents. For, remember, as I have told you, 92 per cent. of all operations conducted by "money" depends upon people having absolute confidence in the "money" being of unchangeable value.

Issue one hundred dollars of "debased" coin more than all men are sure can be kept of unchangeable value with gold—panic and financial revolution are upon you. More "money," you see, which could only be used in 8 per cent. of our smallest financial transactions, can easily be so issued as to overwhelm all the important business of the country by shaking "confidence," upon which 92 per cent. rests. To be always free from danger is to issue only such "money" as in itself has all the value certified by the stamp upon it. So jealously does Britain, our only rival, adhere to this that she is spending two millions of dollars just now to recoin gold coins which have lost a few cents of their value by wear. Her government stamp must always tell the truth. The republic should not be less jealous of its honor.

As you have seen, the silver-men were disappointed at the failure of acts of Congress to advance the value of their silver. Twice the government has been induced to do as they asked, under assurances that compliance would surely get the country out of its dangerous position as the owner of silver; twice it has been deceived. You would think the silver-owners would now admit their error and help the government to get back to safe ground with as little loss as possible. Far from it; instead of this they have taken the boldest step of all, and urged upon Congress what you have heard a great deal about—the "free coinage of silver." Now, what does that mean? It means that our government is to be compelled by law to open its mints and take all the silver with which European governments are loaded down, and part of all the silver mined in the world, and give for every seventy-eight cents' worth of it one of these coins, which you are compelled to take as a full dollar for your labor or products. It means that the European merchant will send silver over here, get it coined at our mints or get a silver-dollar note for it, and then buy a full dollar's worth of your wheat or corn, or anything he wants, for the silver he could get only seventy-eight cents for in Europe or any-

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where else in the world. Europe is doing this every day just now with India, the Argentine Republic, and other countries upon a silver basis. The British merchant buys wheat in India upon the depreciated silver basis, takes it to Europe, and sells it upon the gold basis. He has thus to pay so little for Indian wheat that it has become a dangerous competitor to our own in Europe, which it could not be except that by the fall in silver the Indian farmer gets so little value for his products.

It is only a few months since the new Silver Bill was passed requiring the government to more than double its purchases, and already eight millions of dollars of silver more than we have exported has been sent into this country from abroad—something unknown for fifteen years, for we have always exported more silver than we have imported. Now we are buying all our own mines furnish, and being burdened with some from Europe, for which we should have received gold. In eighteen days of the month of April we have sent abroad nine millions of dollars in gold; so that under our present Silver Law you see Europe has already begun to send us her depreciated silver and rob us of our pure gold—a perilous exchange for our country and one which should fill our legislators with shame. Understand, please, that hitherto, under both bills compelling the government to buy silver, bad as these were, yet the government has got the metal at the market price, now about seventy-eight cents for 371¼ grains; and only this amount the government has put into the so-called dollar. Under "free coinage" all this will change. The owner of the silver will then get the dollar for seventy-eight cents' worth of silver. For pure, cool audacity I submit that this proposition beats the record; and yet when the Farmers' Alliance shouts for free coinage, this is exactly what it supports—a scheme to take from the people twenty-two cents upon each dollar and put it into the pockets of the owners of silver. Surely you will all agree that if seventy-eight cents' worth of silver is to be made a dollar by the government, then the government, and not the silver-owner, should get the extra twenty-two cents' profit on each coin, if it succeeds. The government needs it all; for, as I told you before, the silver bought by the government only at market value could not be sold to-day without a loss of millions.

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If the free coinage of silver becomes law, our farmers will find themselves just in the position of the Indian farmer; and yet we are told that they are in favor of silver. If this be true, there can be only one reason for it—they do not understand their own interests. No class of our people is so deeply interested in the maintenance of the gold standard and the total sweeping-away of silver purchases and debased coinage as the farmer, for many of his products are sold in countries that are upon the gold basis. If the American farmer agrees to take silver in lieu of gold, he will enable the Liverpool merchant to buy upon the lower silver basis, at present seventy-eight cents for the dollar; while for all the articles coming from abroad that the farmer buys he will have to pay upon the gold basis. He will thus have to sell cheap and buy dear. This is just what is troubling India and the South American republics. Prices for this season's crops promise to be higher than for years. *See that you get these upon the gold basis.*

Open our mints to the free coinage of silver, and thus offer every man in the world who has silver to sell a one-dollar coin stamped by the government, and taken by it for all dues, for which he gives only 371¼ grains of silver, worth seventy-eight cents, and every silver mine in the world will be worked day and night and every pound of silver obtained hurried to our shores. The nations of Europe, with eleven hundred millions of depreciated silver already on hand, will promptly unload it upon us; they will demand gold from us for all that we buy from them, and thus rob us of our gold while we take their silver. With "free coinage" in sight, we shall fall from the gold to the silver basis before the bill is passed. The last words of the late lamented Secretary Windom will prove true:—

"Probably before the swiftest ocean greyhound could land its silver cargo in New York, the last gold dollar within reach would be safely hidden in private boxes and in the vaults of safe-deposit companies, to be brought out only by a high premium for exportation."

It is a dangerous sea upon which we have embarked. You should ask yourselves why you should endanger the gold basis for silver. Does any one assert that the silver basis would be better for you or for the country? Impossible. No one dares go so far as this. All that the wildest advocate of the change ventures to say is that he believes that silver could be made as good as gold.

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Everybody knows that nothing could be made better. Let us ask why any one but an owner of silver should wish silver to be made artificially anything else than it is intrinsically. What benefit to any one, except the owner of silver, that the metal silver should not remain where natural causes place it, like the metals copper and nickel? Why should it be credited with anything but its own merits? There was no prejudice in the mind of any one against it. It has had a fair race with gold; the field is always open for it, or for any metal, to prove itself better suited for the basis of value. If silver became more valuable in the market and steadier in value than gold, it would supplant gold. Why not give the position to the metal that wins in fair competition? Gold needs no bolstering by legislation; it speaks for itself. Every gold coin is worth just what it professes to be worth in any part of the world; no doubt about it; no possible loss; and what is equally important, no possible speculation; its value cannot be raised and cannot be depressed. The speculator, having no chance to gamble upon its ups and downs, does not favor it; but this is the very reason you should favor that which gives you absolute security of value all the time. Your interests and the interests of the speculator are not the same. Upon your losses he makes his gains.

One reason urged why silver should be purchased and coined is that the country has not enough "money," and that free coinage of silver will give it more. But if we need more "money," the only metal which it is wise to buy is gold. Why issue your notes for silver, which is falling in value and involves unknown dangers, when for these same notes you can get the solid, pure article itself, real money, *gold*, which cannot possibly entail a loss upon the country? But is it true that the country has not enough "money"?—that is, you remember, the coined article used for exchanging other articles. If so, it is a new discovery. We have not suffered for want of coined money in times past, and yet there is for each man, woman, and child five dollars more "money" in circulation than there ever was. We have more circulating medium—that is, "money"—per head than any country in Europe, with one exception, France, where the people do not use checks and drafts as much as other similar countries—a fact which makes necessary many times more coined money than we require. Still, there is little objection to

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having just as much coined money as is desired, provided it is not debased, but honest money; and the only way to be sure of that is to buy gold and coin it into "money"—not silver, the future value of which is so doubtful, and the purchases of which have so far been a losing speculation. Ask the advocate of more money why gold is not the best metal for the government to buy and coin into money for the people, and see what he has to say. Gold is as much an American product as silver; our mines furnish more than two millions of dollars of it every month. He could have no objection except that this would not tend to keep up the price of his own product, silver. He could not deny that it would give safer money for the people.

There is another plea urged on behalf of silver. Many public men tell us that silver coinage "is in the air," that people want it because they think that it will make money "cheap," and that, silver being less valuable than gold, the debts of people could be more easily paid. But let me call your attention to one point just here. The savings and the property of the people could only be thus reduced in value if the gold standard fell. As long as all government notes were kept equal to gold, as at present, no matter what amount of silver the government bought or coined, not the slightest change is possible. Only after the financial crisis had come, and the gold standard had gone down in the wreck, and every dollar of gold was withdrawn and held for high premiums, could any change occur to favor one class or another. If any man is vaguely imagining that he is to save or make in some way by the government becoming involved in trouble with its debased silver coin and silver purchases, let him remember that, in order that this vain expectation can be realized, there must first come to his government a loss of ability to make good its determination to keep its silver dollar equal to gold, when gold would at once vanish and command a premium. A wise Secretary of the Treasury has truly foretold the result: —

> **"This sudden retirement of $600,000,000 of gold, with the accompanying panic, would cause contraction and commercial disaster unparalleled in human experience, and our country would at once step down to the silver basis, when there would no longer be any inducement for coinage, and silver dollars would sink to their bullion value."**

The man who tries to bring about this disaster in the hope to profit by it is twin brother to him who would wreck the ex-

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press train for the chance of sharing its contents, or would drive the ship of state on the rocks for the chance of securing a part of the wrecked cargo. He is a wrecker and a speculator. His interests are opposed to the interests of the toiling masses.

Again, we are constantly told that the masses of the people favor "free silver coinage," or at least uphold the present silver laws, because they have received the impression, somehow or other, that the more silver there is coined the more money will come to them. Let us look into that. When the government buys silver bullion, it gives its own notes or silver dollars for it. Who gets these? The owners of the silver bullion. How can these be taken from their pockets and put into the pockets of the people? From what we know of the silver-men, we cannot expect them to present many of their dollars to anybody; it will only be when they buy the labor or the products of the people that they will give these dollars at the value of a hundred cents which have cost them only seventy-eight. Will they give more of these seventy-eight-cent dollars than they would have to give of one-hundred-cent dollars for the same labor or products? No, not until or unless the effort of the government to give an artificial value to silver broke down, and our money lost value, when a dollar might not be worth half a dollar in purchasing power; calculated upon gold value, they would always give less value than before. How, then, can the working people or the farmers be benefited? It is the owners of the silver, who will give the government seventy-eight cents' worth of bullion and get for it a dollar, who will make the profit. Surely this is clear. Up to this time the dollar which the farmer or workingman receives is still worth a dollar because the government has been able, by trying hard, to keep it worth this; but when "free coinage of silver" comes, the silver dollar must fall to its real value—seventy-eight cents—and the farmer and workingman will be defrauded; so that the interests of the farmer, mechanic, laborer, and all who receive wages are that the "money" they get should be of the highest value, and not cheap—gold, and not silver.

Up to this time we have held fast to gold as the standard. Everything in the United States is based upon gold to-day, all silver notes or coins being kept equal to gold. Has that been a wise or an unwise policy? Would it now be best to let the

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gold standard go, to which the advanced nations cling, and especially Britain, and adopt the silver standard of our South American neighbors? Upon the solid rock of gold as our basis-article we have built up the wealthiest country in the world, and the greatest agricultural, manufacturing, and mining and commercial country ever known. We have prospered beyond any nation the sun ever shone upon. In no country are wages of labor so high or the masses of the people so well off. Shall we discard the gold basis, or even endanger it? This is the question before the people of the United States to-day.

The New York *Evening Post* is a free-trade organ, but it has recently said that it would rather be the party to pass ten McKinley Bills than one Silver Bill such as was urged; and I, a Republican and a believer in the wisdom of protection, tell you that I would rather give up the McKinley Bill and pass the Mills Bill, if for the exchange I could have the present Silver Bill repealed and silver treated like other metals. In the next presidential campaign, if I have to vote for a man in favor of silver and protection, or for a man in favor of the gold standard and free trade, I shall vote and work for the latter, because my judgment tells me that even the tariff is not half so important for the good of the country as the maintenance of the highest standard for the money of the people.

Would it not be well for you to listen to men who have your confidence, and who have been compelled by their official positions to investigate and study this silver question well? President Harrison is well known as a most conscientious man. He is not rich; he is poor. If he has anything at heart, it is the good of the plain working people of his country. He has had to study this subject, and he tells you that he finds that the first thing a debased silver dollar will do is to go forth and cheat some poor man who has to take it for his products or labor. Ex-President Cleveland, like President Harrison, is a poor man; his sympathies are with the plain working people—the masses. He had to study the question that he might act upon it; and although many of his party have been led away into the crusade for silver,—temporarily, it is to be hoped (for to its credit, let me say, the Democratic party has hitherto been the stanch friend of the best money for the people),—Mr. Cleveland felt that he must tell the truth and denounce the free-silver-coinage idea,

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because he found that it must injure the workers of the nation. His recent letter gives another proof that he is a natural leader of men—a brave man and not a coward. His personal prospects he weighs not against the true welfare of the toilers who once made him President. In addition to these, no abler, purer, or grander Democrat ever managed the finances of this nation than Mr. Manning; no abler, purer, or grander Republican ever did so than Mr. Windom. These men were friends of the masses, if ever the masses had friends. Both had to investigate the silver question that they might learn what was best and act so as to promote the permanent welfare of the people. Both became deeply concerned about the impending danger of "debased money," and used all their powers to stop representatives in Congress from forcing the government to imperil the interests of the workingman, who must have the best money for his labor or products, or be the prey of speculators. These great men, two of them exalted to the highest political office upon the earth by your suffrages, had and have at heart only the good of the many as against the possible enrichment of the few. Political opponents as they were or are, that they should agree upon this question must surely give every farmer, mechanic, and workingman in the United States grave reason for believing that they, and not the advocates of silver, are his wisest counsellors.

I close with one word of advice to the people. Unless the government ceases to burden itself month by month with more silver, or if the free coinage of silver be seriously entertained, *avoid silver;* when you lay by anything, let it be in gold; when you deposit in the savings-bank let it be a gold deposit—ask the bank to give you a gold receipt therefor. There is no use in the poor taking any risk. If you do not thus act promptly, you will find no gold left for you. The speculators and those closely identified with business will have it all. It is a fact full of warning that no bonds could be sold to advantage to-day which were not made specially payable in *gold.* There is danger ahead. Whatever happens, you can sleep soundly upon gold. Silver will bring bad dreams to wise men. Our government can do much; it is very strong; but there are two things which it cannot do: it cannot—by itself, against the world—permanently give to silver a higher value than it possesses throughout the world as metal,

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though this is what it is trying to do; and it cannot lessen the value of gold. Some day, perhaps, you may have reason to thank me for the advice I have given you, although I hope not.

Do not think, however, that I despair of the republic —never; even if dragged into the difficulties inseparable from silver, and matters become as bad with us as they are to-day in the Argentine Republic, where one gold dollar is worth two and a half currency dollars, there is no occasion to fear the final result. The good sense of the people will restore the gold basis after a time, and the republic will march on to the front rank among nations; but the silver experiment will cost much; and it is better that the direct loss should fall as much as possible upon the few of the moneyed class than upon the masses of the people. At best the latter must suffer most, for moneyed men know better than others can how to protect themselves. All this loss, I am sure, the people would prevent if they could only be made to understand the question; for their interests, far more than those of the rich, lie with honest money, and their wishes have only to be expressed to their representatives to prevent the threatened crisis.

Silver, owing to changes of value, has become the tool of the speculator. Steady, pure, unchangeable gold has ever been, and never was so much as now, the best instrument for the protection of the masses of the people.

I have written in vain if this paper does not do something to explain why this is so, and to impel the people to let their representatives in Congress clearly understand that, come what may, the stamp of the republic must be made true, the money of the American people kept the highest and surest in value of all money in the world, above all doubt or suspicion, its standard in the future, as in the past, not fluctuating Silver, but unchanging Gold.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

SECRETARY RUSK AND THE FARMERS.

THE Hon. Jeremiah M. Rusk, who is at the head of the Department of Agriculture, tells us in the April REVIEW of a serious and ominous present plight of American agriculture. Unfortunately, he uses the language of the rostrum. This is always a difficult language from which to winnow, but, briefly stated, his case seems to be this:

(1) One-half of our population depends directly on agriculture; the prosperity of all is founded on it; it is the basis of society.

(2) Farmers constitute a "class," and this class has not got its fair share of the good things American prosperity has yielded. We cannot expect them not to feel sore over this, and their discontent threatens "a grave disturbance in the equilibrium of national affairs."

(3) Those who are not farmers are deplorably ignorant as to the real condition of the farmer, the needs of American agriculture, and its relation to other industries and to the general prosperity.

(4) The duty of the hour is to undertake at once an earnest and thoughtful study of American agriculture and to learn the needs and conditions of American farmers.

The precise way in which the results of this study are to be made effective in ameliorating the condition of the farmer is not indicated. After all, is not the Secretary's entire fabric founded on a fiction?

(1) It is quite true that society cannot be maintained without food-producers. Neither can it be maintained without millers and butchers and grocers and cooks and the whole round of purveyors and workers. Nor can American agriculture be carried on without the help of wheelwrights and blacksmiths and tailors and milliners and others who work in the service of civilization.

Farming is the basis of the social organization only in the sense of having been its beginning. The first settlers of a new country are, as a rule, all farmers. Later, those suited to handicrafts and to trade take advantage of the chance to improve their condition that the growing prosperity of the community offers, and the community benefits by their work. In the advanced condition the work of the carpenter is as important as that of the farmer.

The fact that those in one industry outnumber those in another does not give them a greater claim to consideration. A farmer is not a farmer because farming is the basis of society; he is a farmer because his circumstances, his tastes, or his capacity indicates that farming is the business or the labor by which he can best make his way in the world. If his neighbor selects another occupation, he follows it without the least obligation to do more for

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the farmer, nor need the farmer do more for him, than ordinary business considerations suggest. Both are free men, and both are entitled to what they can fairly get in the struggle for existence. If either has made a mistake, he suffers the consequences.

What is "truly the basis of our national prosperity" is not farming, nor any other occupation, nor is it "labor." It is industry, skill, frugality, and fair dealing. The sphere in which these are applied is immaterial.

(2) If farmers constitute a "class," it is a class that is not chained to the tilling of the ground. It has, with us, the opportunities that our institutions provide for all; and it takes full advantage of them. The farmer's son not only may, but does, seek his fortune in other fields; he sometimes finds it, too. The majority of the very small—the comparatively insignificant—number of "rich men of the city" are removed from the farm by hardly more than a single generation. Many adventurers fail, but all may seek, and those whose spirit of caution deters them from seeking have no mean consolation in the certain livelihood that even reasonably good farming insures. The shiftless and the incompetent fail in farming as they fail elsewhere, but thrift and industry and intelligent adjustment to conditions succeed there, perhaps to a less degree, but with more certainty, than elsewhere. It is a question, not of class, but of personal equation. The equilibrium of national affairs will be gravely disturbed, not when farming does not pay so well as other industries, but when industrious and frugal men have to bolster up the indolent and shiftless, or when the national arm shelters one industry at the cost of another.

(3) Those who are not farmers will render the best service to the world by close and intelligent application to the work they find to their hands, and by seeking no favors at the cost of others. Farmers themselves, if a fair chance is allowed them, can and will look out for their own condition more effectively than others can. The needs of American agriculture can then safely be left to them; and the general prosperity will be best subserved if every man attends well to his own business and allows others an equal chance to attend to theirs. A sentimental sympathy with farmers will do them no good, and may do them harm.

(4) Our duty of the hour, so far as the farmer is concerned, is to see that he has a fair field. With this, he need ask no favor. One thing he has a right to demand, and is justified in seeking by every means he can compass; that is, free access to the markets of the world. His most serious trouble is that he is penned in a corner by those who are working him as a source of profit. Through his necessities, which are imperative, he is squeezed like a lemon by those who make his tools and his clothing and nearly all he has to buy. In this regard he is no worse off—and he could be no worse off—than are the rest of our working population. He has, indeed, the advantage that he can provide himself with the barest sustenance without buying; he need not actually starve.

It is one of his great misfortunes that he is subjected to the deluding flattery—often unconscious—of those who talk of him and to him, after the manner of Mr. Secretary Rusk. He is told that the world cannot get on without him, with an implication that this places him in an exceptionally proud position, and he is often simple enough to look with special confidence on those who tell it to him. He is simple enough, too, to think that he could so wield the great power of the agricultural vote as to better his condition by legislation. He little knows the men who rule him. They do not live by

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labor. They live by the business of politics; by the controlling of elections and the use of that control for profit. What with the offices they are permitted to distribute and the corruption-funds they collect from men who are interested in class legislation, they make their business pay handsomely, directly and indirectly. Enough of the business element of politics is allied with manufacturing industries to make manufacturers sometimes our most dangerous, though not our most conspicuous, politicians. Through them the farmer and the workingman generally are overtaxed right and left. They are made to pay tribute to trusts and combinations, to the pension agents, and to the bummers and deadbeats who discovered their wounds only a quarter of a century after they had fled from their last battlefield. In spite of their overwhelming numbers, the farmers are powerless to protect themselves, mainly for lack of intelligence to see their situation as it is. They are peculiarly susceptible to the presentation of false issues, and are easily misled by the flattery and buncombe of the demagogues of both parties.

The conclusion from all this must be that there is a duty of the hour which we owe the farmer, very different from that which the Secretary of Agriculture sets forth—the duty of relieving him from the unequal burden of taxation to which he is now subjected, by allowing him to buy what he does not produce, as he is compelled to sell what he does produce, in the world's markets at the world's prices. With this chance given him, and with the level-headed realization that he needs no petting and no flattery, he will get out of his work all that it is capable of yielding, and "the needs of American agriculture" will be satisfied.

That the present Alliance movement will directly improve the situation is not likely. There are already indications that professional politicians will buy farms, will pay the expense of Alliance meetings, and will capture the Alliance vote. This done, they will go on in their old familiar way, with the old familiar result, until farmers learn to do more of their own thinking.

GEO. E. WARING, JR.

CHANGES IN THE BALLOT LAW.

THE people of the Empire State have been wrestling for more than three years with the problem of ballot reform. In January, 1888, an election bill was introduced in the New York Assembly which reproduced the main features of what is generally known as the Australian system. This was probably the first measure of the kind ever presented to an American legislature. Although it passed both houses, it did not become a law, having met with executive disapproval. The same fate befell two other bills of similar character passed during the sessions of 1889 and 1890.

In the mean time the movement was rapidly gathering headway. The tide of popular demand was rising higher and higher—a demand based upon the conviction, which had found a lodgment in the hearts of our best citizens, that the evils having their roots in our loose election laws threatened the integrity of our institutions. Immense petitions were sent to Albany asking for the enactment of a statute that would give some promise of accomplishing what was so earnestly desired. The pulpit and press put forth the most strenuous efforts to bring about the result. While we were at a standstill, unable to take a forward step because of this deadlock between

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the Governor and Legislature, other States had adopted the Australian system in its entirety. The pressure finally became so strong that to resist it longer was impossible. Those who had so long stood in the way made up their minds that, as a matter of prudence, they had better "pander to the moral sentiment" of the people. Just as the session was drawing to a close last year, after one ballot-reform bill had been vetoed, a compromise measure was passed by a substantially unanimous vote and approved in the executive chamber.

This new law was fully tested at the election held in November last. A test of the system which it aimed to establish could not have been made under less favorable conditions. The machinery of the law was about as cumbersome and complicated as it well could be. The expense of putting it in working order was unnecessarily large. A new registry law, imposing additional burdens upon voters, went into effect at the same time. The newspaper discussions about the right way to fold ballots gave many the impression that the act of voting was an exceedingly difficult and delicate operation. All these circumstances conspired to excite prejudice against the new method, which resulted not only in sending some voters to the polling-places in a very critical and fault-finding mood, but in keeping others away entirely.

There are certain classes of people who can always be depended upon to array themselves against anything in the nature of an innovation. When the ballot first began to be talked about in England, fifty or sixty years ago, the idea was generally ridiculed. Sydney Smith called the ballot-boxes "mouse-traps," and spoke of "voters in dominoes going to the polls in sedan chairs with closely-drawn curtains." But as the "use that doth breed a habit in a man" would make a polling-place now seem incomplete without the ballot-box, so the day is not very far ahead when it will be a source of wonder that a vote by ballot, which essentially implies absolute secrecy, should ever have been taken without the aid of those instruments which alone make such secrecy possible.

I believe that, in spite of all adverse influences, the popular verdict has already been pronounced in favor of the measure. There are some who will not agree with me in this opinion. It is unfortunate that so many people are always inclined to regard every public question from a partisan or purely selfish stand-point. Hobbes wrote several centuries ago that, "if any interest or passion were concerned in disputing the theorems of geometry, different opinions would be entertained respecting them." Those who think that the law worked to the disadvantage of their party, or to their own personal loss, will loudly exclaim that it is a failure. But the facts cannot be denied or explained away. The people know that at the first trial of the law bribery and intimidation were reduced to a minimum; and that the self-respecting man, for the only time perhaps in his life, was able to cast his ballot without feeling degraded by his surroundings or blushing, as an American citizen, that so much baseness attended the ordinary exercise of the voting privilege.

The good effects of the law are directly traceable to the adoption of certain principles which the friends of ballot reform have always advocated. In bringing about the compromise, however, a departure was taken in two important particulars from the simplicity of the Australian system. The experience we have already passed through ought to convince everybody that the measure should at once be restored to its original form.

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The most important of these changes was the one requiring the use of separate ballots instead of the so-called "blanket" ballot. The bill that was vetoed last year prescribed that the ballot should contain the names of all candidates who had been nominated for the various offices, arranged in groups with the appropriate party or political designation at the head of each group. For example, if that bill had become a law, there would have been but one ballot paper given out to voters last fall at the polling-places, except that a separate municipal ballot would have been required wherever municipal elections were held. The names of Republican candidates would have been found in one column, the names of Democratic candidates in another, the names of Prohibition candidates in another, and perhaps the names of some independent candidates in still another. There would also have been a blank column, in which those very particular voters who could not find any one to suit them in the printed list might have written such names as they pleased. The ballot would have been prepared for voting by crossing off the names of all candidates except those for whom the vote was to be cast. The bill required that the ballot should be folded when delivered to the election officers.

Instead of this very simple scheme, the law actually in force required a separate ballot for each list of candidates. They were delivered to voters unfolded, and without a word or sign upon them to indicate what party any particular ticket represented. In the county where I live there were six different kinds of ballots. Before delivering them the ballot clerks had to write their initials on each one. The voter would take a full set into the booth and there fold them all precisely alike, after determining which one he wanted to vote. I received a letter some time ago from a gentleman residing in the Twenty-third Ward of New York city, informing me that the voters of that ward had to handle and fold fifteen different kinds of ballots on election day. "Every sensible man," wrote he, "was disgusted with the extra and useless labor."

Besides all this, mistakes are very likely to occur. When the voter comes from the booth with ten or fifteen different tickets all looking exactly alike, if he is a little awkward or confused, he is very likely to hand the wrong one to the inspectors. The election officers themselves, putting aside the possibility of wilful error, can easily make the mistake of placing the wrong ballot in the box. There is no doubt that thousands of such mistakes actually happened last election day, although from the nature of the case but few of them were brought to light.

It is true that so large a number of separate ballots as were printed in New York city is an indication that the privilege of making independent nominations under the law was grossly abused. One of the ballots that was found at every polling-place contained only the name of the Socialistic Labor candidate for Judge of the Court of Appeals. The cost of printing these ballots all over the State could not have been less than $10,000; and very few of them were cast outside of New York city. Such abuses will probably become more and more frequent so long as the law remains in its present shape. The power of making independent nominations, under such conditions as now exist, will be used chiefly for selfish ends, because it offers every facility for "splitting" tickets and blackmailing candidates. There is but one adequate remedy, and that lies in the blanket ballot; not such a blanket ballot as the vetoed bill of 1890 prescribed, because I am convinced that it is not practical, but the genuine blanket ballot, now in use in Massachusetts

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and other States, upon which names of candidates are printed in alphabetical order under the titles of the offices for which they have been respectively nominated.

The other grave defect in the law is found in the clause permitting the voter to use unofficial paster ballots. This really violates a principle which is recognized and enforced in other parts of the statute. The bill that was vetoed last year allowed a voter to write or paste any name upon the official ballot. That provision might have been construed into a permission to use a paster ballot, although it was never intended to have that effect. But the law that was passed emphasized the paster ballot, making it one of the prominent features. The design doubtless was to bring it into general use.

Those who insisted upon introducing this feature declared that their object was to aid the illiterate voter. Experience has shown that it is entirely insufficient for such purpose. The voter who was unable to read had great difficulty in comprehending how the paster should be used. There are other aids that may be given to him which will prove far more effectual.

The fact is apparent that the paster ballot is useless except as an instrument that may be effective in defeating the purposes of the law. It perpetuates the unofficial ballot, with all its dangerous tendencies. It invites a continuance of oppressive assessments upon candidates. It furnishes occupation for the poll-worker. It suggests a method of invading that secrecy with which the law intends to surround the voter while engaged in preparing his ballot. It sends out the only ray of hope that cheers those who still cling to the old system. We may be sure that the evils inherent in that system will never be entirely eradicated until the paster ballot is abolished.

CHARLES T. SAXTON.

FLOODS AND FORESTS.

A CHRONICLE of the early middle ages records a strange tradition about the last prince of the Heruli, who became so deeply interested in a game of chess that he failed to heed the uproar caused by the approach of a hostile army, and had just managed to "castle" his king when the gates of his own castle yielded to the battle-axes of the Longobards.

The historians of the future may credit us with a taste for equally absorbing studies, if they should try to explain our indifference to the significance of an omen which, in the course of the last fifteen years, has repeated its warnings at half a hundred different points of our national territory.

About sixty years after the arrival of the first Caucasian colonists it was first noticed that the lower river valleys became subject to inundation that had been unknown at the time when the Atlantic slope from Florida to the Gulf of St. Lawrence was covered with continuous forests. Still, those floods were too rare to cause serious alarm; but soon after the celebration of our first national centennial it became evident that the climate of North America must have undergone a permanent, though rather sudden, change for the worse. Spring floods of increasing destructiveness became phenomena of almost yearly occurrence, even in districts where there had been no appreciable increase in the rate of forest destruction. All along the lower course of the Ohio, the Tennessee, the Cumberland, the Arkansas, and the Missouri freshets caused an amount of havoc suggesting the conjecture that the rainfall in the headwater regions of those rivers must have more than doubled. The records of the meteorological observatories refuted that

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theory; yet the suddenness of the change can be fully explained. In all new colonies offering a choice between lowlands and highlands, the valleys of the foothills attract the largest number of permanent settlers. The tide-water regions repel by their malarial swamps, and mosquitoes are as troublesome in eastern New Jersey as in eastern Georgia, while the higher mountains are too inaccessible to carts and ploughs to encourage rapid settlement. In central New York, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, and the Carolinas millions of acres had thus been cleared when the forests, both of the coast plains and the highlands, were still large enough to afford shelter to the solitude-loving hearts of the wilderness.

The rapid increase of population, however, soon invaded those sylvan solitudes. The recoil of the westward exodus was followed by a woodward overflow of the stream of home-seekers. Droughts, fuel-famines, and locust-swarms had taught thousands to prefer the shaggy mountains to the naked plains. The increasing price of lumber attracted attention to the virgin forests of the highlands. The song of the mountain thrush was silenced by the sound of countless axes and the crash of falling trees. In the Adirondacks, in the southern Alleghanies, even in the cloud-capped Unakas of eastern Tennessee, every "cove" containing a few acres of arable land was cleared and settled. Hundreds of tramways, "timber roads" as they are significantly called, connected the main railway lines with the lumber-camps of the uplands.

Those uplands have now become accessible enough, but also rather uninviting by the contrast of their treeless slopes with the magnificent forests and "wild-hanging woods" of former years. And here we find the key to the enigma of the remarkable change in the frequency of spring floods. The reckless destruction of woodlands in extensive plains may avenge itself by the disappearance of insect-eating birds and the liability to protracted droughts; but local floods are caused only by the most violent rains, since the drainage of level fields is mostly absorbed by the soil before its overflow can materially affect the valley rivers. In treeless highlands, on the other hand, rain-water runs down a steep mountain slope as from a roof, and, where such waters are swelled by rills from extensive banks of melting snow, a few wet days may turn brooks into torrents and small rivers into surging seas.

Hence the destructiveness of spring floods since the middle of the last decade. For while in the valleys the area of treeless lands has only doubled once in twenty years, it has doubled yearly in the highlands, and will soon extend to the very summit regions of every east-American mountain range accessible to the skilled road-builders of Yankeedom. The prospective exhaustion of the Maine and Michigan pineries has warned speculators to turn to new fields of enterprise, and some three million acres of mountain forests, representing the last remains of the old east-American *sylvania*, have already been doomed to the axe.

We cannot hope that such secular trifles as the preservation of national parks should employ the leisure of statesmen engaged in the enactment of laws for the suppression of popular pastimes on the day on which ninety-nine in every hundred workingmen find their only chance for recreation; the "plea of the wood-bird" has no chance against the eloquence of the anti-forest-law lobbyist; but before the end of this century the folly of tree-destruction will be illustrated by an *argumentum ad hominem* conveying a memorable lesson in the less resistible logic of dollars and cents.

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The ways of nature are less incalculable than those of our American party politicians, and as sure as the devastation of our highland forests is permitted to continue, the time is near when the lowlands of the Mississippi valley will be damaged at the average rate of a hundred million dollars a year, and when some fifty fine cities will have to undergo the horror of an annual deluge, equivalent to the havoc of a yearly bombardment. On the other side of the Atlantic rivers not much larger than the second-class tributaries of the Ohio have caused devastations almost exhausting the resources of once-prosperous communities; and, unless the progress of the evil is obviated in time, the same causes will produce the same effects in Pittsburg, Allegheny City, Wheeling, Cincinnati, Louisville, Evansville, Nashville, and New Orleans. In Nashville alone a thousand houses had this year to be abandoned before the middle of March, the latter half of which month generally brings the heaviest freshets; 560 in Cincinnati, 710 in Allegheny, with fears of the worst in the lower quarters of New Orleans, where a rapidly-rising river has already passed the high-water mark of 1885. And yet the winter of 1890-91 was not remarkable for excessive rainfalls or for sudden thaws, the three weeks from the 20th of February to the 14th of March having been cooler than the corresponding period of any winter during the last seven years. What if the western Alleghanies should become as bare as the southern Cevennes, and the accumulated snow of a severe winter should be melted by heavy and far-spread rains!

"We will reforest our hills," say our temporizing friends, "as soon as the magnitude of flood calamities has awakened the masses to a sense of their danger; we will plant forest trees, and the birds will return, droughts will become less severe, and winter floods will cease."

Optimists of that sort ought to read the last report of the French Forest Commission, or, better yet, the memorandum of a Virginia gentleman who tried to turn a lot of worn-out old fields into a timber plantation. The basis of his operations was a five-thousand-acre tract on the lower Chesapeake, where the climatic conditions would be supposed to be much more favorable to the growth of young trees than on the arid plains of the far West, or on the torrent-swept terraces of a steep mountain range. The owner (Mr. Burnett Landreth) procured several thousand dollars' worth of the best seed and seedlings, which he planted in well-ploughed furrows, according to the most approved rules of arboriculture; yet here are the results of his experiment: A small patch of white pine prospered fairly well. Of 150 bushels of black-walnuts a large percentage sprouted, but the trees grew too slowly to encourage an extension of the grove. Some 70,000 black locusts reached a height of twelve feet, and had already begun to form shady arcades, when

"one September the locust-tree borer mysteriously descended in swarms upon our groves, laying millions of eggs, which produced myriads of grubs, which by the next midsummer had ruined every tree. We had to cut the trees and pull out the roots with oxen at the expense of $25 per acre.

"Next the Swiss and Scotch larch gave out, piping of the trunks, the main stem breaking off at about ten feet in height. It did not promise well at any time, and we had to strike it off the list, as well as the southern deciduous cypress.

"Of hickory and pecan the nuts planted were, to a great extent, stolen by the squirrels, woodchucks, and field-mice, and those which did vegetate made such slow growth that we ploughed them out and replanted the ground with catalpa.

"The tulip-poplar was not a success; the rabbits and field-mice during winter ate off from the tender seedlings the sweet, juicy bark, and destroyed nearly every plant.

"The Italian sumac, planted for its leaves, still stands, but the percentage of tannic acid in its foliage is not greater than in the leaves of the wild Virginia sumac; so its cultivation does not offer much hope for profit.

"The white-oak acorns were largely stolen by squirrels, woodchucks, rabbits, and field-mice, which ate the bark of the young seedlings, as they did of the poplar."

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The fact is that outraged nature at last refuses to be propitiated. Destructive insects haunt the grave of the slain primeval forests, and trees perish in the worn-out soil which still nourishes weeds and thorns.

The "storage-lake project" would lead to still more expensive disappointments. In order to prevent the sudden descent of highland floods it has been proposed to construct artificial reservoirs, which would have to be filled before the swollen streams could pursue their coastward career of destruction, and which in midsummer could be utilized as feeders of irrigation canals. It would employ a thousand workmen for twenty years to dig out a pond large enough to check the floods which some of the upper tributaries of the Ohio roll down in a single week. The difficulties of the job might, indeed, be lessened by damming up a mountain valley at its narrowest point, but the enterprise would, after all, be wrecked by a frequent and wholly unavoidable contingency—the fouling of the reservoir by the accumulation of sand and other sediment. In the course of a rainy winter a muddy torrent not wider than the James River at Lynchburg would pile its diluvium to the brink of the deepest pond now on this planet, and the removal of that sediment would perpetuate the expensiveness of the project, besides depopulating the neighborhood of the reservoir by the effluvium of ever-dripping mud hillocks. A similar result would follow the attempt to raise the levees of the valley rivers above the maximum of high-water marks. The mud and sand stratum at the bottom of the stream would gradually rise to the level of the dikes; the embankments would have to assume the proportion of chains of artificial hills, and the breaking of a single link in that chain would flood the adjacent lowlands with lakes which the next summer would turn into as many pestilential lagoons.

Prevention, indeed, is not only easier than cure, but much cheaper. The hundredth part of the direct and indirect expense involved in the construction of adequate flood-gate lakes and the planting of climate-redeeming forests, would suffice to buy up all the summit woods of the east-American highlands and guard them against fire and timber-pirates for the next hundred years.

All the New England States, all the States of the southern Alleghanies and the Ohio valley, will be confronted with that inevitable alternative, and the time for decision is getting very short. Prevention or cure is still our choice, under tolerable conditions; a few years hence it will be pond-cure or plant-cure—the construction of half a thousand Moeris lakes, with their gnat- and miasma-breeding surroundings, or else the planting and nursing of some twenty billion slow-growing seedlings, requiring constant assistance in their struggle for survival in a soil swarming with "gophers, rats, rabbits, field-mice, and chipmunks," not to mention the grubs of the locust or the locust-tree borer.

FELIX L. OSWALD.

THE CONTAGION OF LEPROSY.

DURING the past winter and spring a number of articles have appeared in the daily papers asserting that leprosy was in our midst. Such headlines as "Is It the Dread Scourge?" or "A Leper in Mott Street" have startled and alarmed New-Yorkers. The Board of Health received numerous letters from frightened citizens, calling its attention to persons who, they thought, might have the disease. Zealous newspaper reporters brought innocent and guileless

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Chinamen to the Bureau for Contagious Diseases to have harmless skin eruptions diagnosed as leprosy.

Is this great fear of leprosy justified by its contagiousness? No, it is not. Yet the disease is one to be justly dreaded, and certain safeguards should be enforced against it.

Let me qualify this. Leprosy is caused by a specific germ or bacillus, called the bacillus lepræ, discovered by Dr. Armaner Hansen, a celebrated Norwegian student of the disease. It is an accepted fact that all diseases caused by germs or bacilli are transmissible from one human being to another; in other words, that they are either contagious or infectious. It is also an accepted truth that all the transmissible diseases are transmissible in different degrees to different individuals, and that the degree of transmissibility, or the susceptibility, if you will, to contagion, is determined by certain physical conditions of the human system. Physicians use a word to cover these conditions—idiosyncrasy or temperament. We meet with persons whose temperament is such that it resists contagion, and with others whose peculiar temperament causes them to catch every contagious disease to which they are exposed. The modern history of leprosy shows beyond a doubt that it is not contracted by persons whose systems are well nourished. The most competent observers agree that it is not a disease of modern civilization.

Prolonged exposure to leprosy *may* be followed by its development in persons whose systems have been debilitated by improper diet or by certain diseases. The experience of ages shows that two factors are necessary to effect its spread: (1) prolonged intimate exposure; (2) debilitated systems.

The knowledge of leprosy on the part of the masses is derived from the accounts of it contained in the Bible. These accounts have given people distorted notions of its contagion and characteristics. The horrible picture of unfortunates who went about with heads bidden in sackcloth and ashes, ostracised, crying "Unclean," is impressed upon the mind of nearly everybody with a force and vividness never to be effaced. If to-day the presence of a leper should be announced in any public place, a general stampede would follow.

It is probable that in Biblical times the temperament of people was different from the temperament of human beings of to-day. The diet of the ancients and their manner of living, their habits and their sanitary surroundings, were sufficiently different from ours to have effected a difference in idiosyncrasy or temperament sufficient to account for the susceptibility to the contagion of leprosy that their writings indicate they possessed.

It is interesting to study the disease and its course during the middle ages. We may judge of its prevalance and of its decline by the amount of attention bestowed upon it by writers of the various periods. Sir Morrell Mackenzie in an instructive article alludes particularly to this. At times they have much to say, and then for long lapses of times we learn little or nothing concerning the disease. These lapses are usually found to correspond to periods of prosperity, and the prevalence of the disease is noted during or immediately after periods of hardship and want. When the vitality of the people was lowered by long wars and their consequences, the disease spread and afflicted great numbers, while during prosperous times it declined. After the crusades Europe suffered most severely from the effects of leprosy. Its spread was effected by constant intercourse with the East, in those days its pecular habitat. It was during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the disease was at its height in European countries. No less

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than 19,000 lazarettos are said to have then been in existence. Voltaire says that the only permanent result of the crusades was the introduction of leprosy into the civilized countries of the world.

The wane of the disease commenced about the middle of the fifteenth century, and within one hundred years it disappeared from the civilized world, except in isolated communities. The present habitats of leprosy are without exception, so far as can be ascertained, countries, or parts of countries, whose inhabitants are shiftless, lazy, and ignorant, who live upon unwholesome food, and who habitually violate moral and sanitary laws. Leprosy has never made any headway among enlightened, prosperous peoples. Its persistence among those addicted to a more or less exclusive fish diet led many medical men into the mistaken belief that it was due directly to excessive fish-eating.

At the present day we find leprosy more or less prevalent in China, India, Norway, New Zealand and the Pacific islands, British Guiana, the West Indies, the Sandwich Islands, Spain, Italy, and Turkey. We also find it in some of the South American countries, and—I regret to record it—in Mexico, New Brunswick, Minnesota, Louisiana, and South Carolina. It cannot be ascertained just when the disease was introduced into the countries of North America. Gayarré, the Louisiana historian, states that the Spaniards established lazarettos in their Gulf colonies some time during the eighteenth century, and that as late as 1785 one still existed in New Orleans. Leprosy, it is said, prevailed among the negroes in Florida about 1776, but it has died out, and no cases are known to have existed during the present century. In Louisiana no cases can be ascertained to have existed within the memory of the oldest inhabitant prior to 1866, when an old woman, whose father came from the south of France, was found suffering from the disease. She died in 1870. In 1871, a year after her death, one of her sons developed leprosy, and a year later two others, also her sons, were afflicted with it. In 1876 her nephew was found to be leprous, and a little later a young woman who had been in constant attendance on her became a leper. In 1878 an able article by Dr. Salamon, of New Orleans, was published in the New Orleans *Medical and Surgical Journal*, recording the cases I have just given, and twenty-one other cases found in several parishes near the city.

In 1846 South Carolina contained leprosy, and since that date some sixteen cases occurred. All the victims have, I believe, died without the development of others.

The disease was introduced into Minnesota by Norwegian immigrants, most of whom were leprous before leaving their native land. In 1863 there were eighteen cases; in 1879 fifteen.

The first case that occurred in New Brunswick, about 1815, was that of a poor woman whose mother came from Normandy. The disease is confined mainly to her descendants. In 1849 a lazaretto was established on Shelrake Island, in the Miramichi River, with a residential population of thirty-two lepers. There are at present, I believe, only twelve or thirteen cases in it.

The close commercial relations between California and China have introduced quite a number of lepers into the former from the latter country. A leper hospital in San Francisco has contained as many as fifty-two unfortunates, all of whom were Chinese. No cases, however, have developed from these among the inhabitants of any of the Pacific States.

In New York city there have been half a dozen isolated cases during the past ten years, and at the present time the writer knows of five cases of leprosy within the city limits.

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Leprosy is a relic of the barbarous ages, and it is, I think, slowly disappearing from the earth. Civilization and progress will in time complete its effacement. It is but another instance of the "Belated Crab" of Mr. Jackson, and we may join with him in praying heaven to soon remove it. We must not neglect certain safeguards against it, however, for it is an insidious disease. Half a century is often necessary to effect its development in a community, and it may gain a foothold without attracting attention. The action of the government in rigidly quarantining against it is commendable. Lepers, to say the least, are not desirable citizens, and such as reach our shores should be sent back to the places whence they came.

The establishment of a national lazaretto has been advocated for such cases as have developed among us. I believe it should be done, and hope to see it in the near future, as it will undoubtedly prevent some cases from occurring that would otherwise occur.

As a nation we have nothing to fear from leprosy. The conditions do not exist here to cause or even permit the spread of the disease, and it is not conceivable that they will exist until civilization proves a failure.

CYRUS EDSON, M. D.

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